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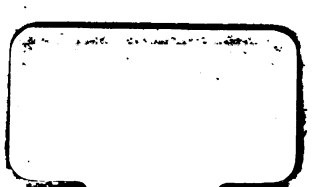
TO THE UNIVERSITY

BY

ROBERT FINCH, M.A.,

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE

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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Accounts to the Preſent Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. XII.

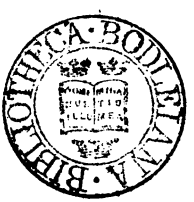


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CHAP. XLII. *Continued.*

The History of the African Islands.

SECT. V.

The Cape de Verd Islands.

WE come now to the Cape Verd Islands, so called from their proximity to the cape of that name on the continent of Africa, to which they are directly opposite. The Portuguese call them Ilhas Verdas, or the *Green Islands*, because the surrounding sea is deeply tinged with that colour, or rather filled with a weed of an exquisite fine green, lying so thick that ships are scarce able to make their way through it. Others, and particularly the French writers, have called them the *Salt Islands*, from the quantity of salt made in them, and transported to all parts of the continent of Africa; but the general name by which they are known to all Europe, is Cape Verd. It is the opinion of some writers, that the Cape de Verd Islands are the same as Mela has described under the name of Gorgones, in the Atlantic Ocean, and Pliny by that of Gorgades, the residence of the three

Cape Verd Islands.

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daughters of Phorcus, known by the fabulous names of Meduſa, Sthenio, and Euryale [a]. Others again believe them to be the Heſperides of Ptolemy, ſituated near the cape or promontory of that name; though it is moſt probable that they were utterly unknown before the Portugueſe paved the way for diſcoveries of new worlds [b].

They are ſituate oppoſite to Cape de Verd, or rather between it and Cape Blanco, about forty-two leagues from the continent, and ſtretching into the ſea, till the fartheſt is ſeventy leagues from ſhore. In general, they lie between 13 deg. 50 min. and 17 deg. 40 min. north latitude, and between the 22d and 25th deg. of longitude weſt from London. With reſpect to their number, there is no agreement among writers or voyagers, ſome reckoning twelve, ſome eleven, and others no more than nine, perhaps becauſe ſome take into their account iſlands which others think too inconſiderable to be mentioned; or poſſibly two iſlands which lie ſo contiguous as to be ſeparated only by a ſmall gut, may have been deſcribed as one. The names of the ten agreed upon are as follow; Ilha del Sal, Ilha Buena-viſta, Ilha Mayo, Ilha de Sant Jago, Ilha del Fogo, Ilha del Bracca, Ilha del Sant Nicholas, Ilha del Sant Lucia, Ilha del Sant Vincent, Ilha del Sant Antonio, beſides others of leſs note, to which no names have been aſſigned.

It is affirmed, that theſe iſlands, if not abſolutely diſcovered for the firſt time, were at leaſt unknown to the moderns till the year 1440, when Antonio Nolli, a Genoeſe, fell in with them. According to Jurin, the Portugueſe were the firſt diſcoverers, about ſix years after this period [c]; and Sanutus aſſerts, that the honour is due to a Venetian, of the family of Cadamoſto [d], ſent by the prince of Portugal upon the diſcovery of unknown countries.

At preſent they are almoſt all well-peopled, though in ſome the climate is extremely unhealthy, but in general wholſome, pure, and ſerene. They were peopled originally by Europeans, ſome ſay by criminals baniſhed out of Portugal; at leaſt it is certain, that they were uninhabited when firſt diſcovered, whatever they might have been in the days of Pliny and Mela, if they had any know-

[a] La Martiniere. [b] La Croix, tom. iv. p. 631. Davity, tom. v. p. 625. [c] Thevet, Coſm. lib. iii. Lin. p. 695. Pyrard. lib. i. Jarric. lib. v. cap. 44. Herrera, cap. v. [d] Man. Hiſt. Venet. lib. v. Dandolo, lib. vii. cap. 3.

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lege at all of these islands. We shall describe them in the order in which they occur.

Ilha Mayo, or the island of Mayo, lies in the 15th deg. of north latitude, and 22d of longitude from London, about nine leagues south-south-west of Buena-vista. It is but small, being no more than seven leagues in circumference, its form oval, with a variety of sharp rocks and points projecting into the sea above a mile. La Croix, Davity, and Linschoten, describe it with dangerous shoals and sand-banks round the coast; notwithstanding which Dampier affirms, that he has coasted it almost in a circle, and yet could never discover any thing dangerous, besides the promontories, which render it hazardous to fall in at night too close with the land. Mayo is raised considerably above the sea, but level and plain, except two mountains of considerable height. The shore, according to the last mentioned writer, is clear, with sandy bays between the promontories, which afford good anchorage. On the west side of the island, where ships generally drop anchor, there is a large sandy bay, and a sand-bank forty paces wide, running near three miles along shore, within which is a large salt-pond contained between the rising shore and the opposite sand-bank. The whole salt-pond is full two miles in length, and half a mile in breadth, but seldom filled with water. It is the north end which chiefly produces salt, that being never dry, though the water evaporates, and the salts form themselves for the whole dry season; that is, from November to the month of May. The waters yielding this salt run in from the sea through a natural sluice, or perforation of the sand-bank, in all spring-tides, by which the pond is filled with a greater or smaller quantity of water, in proportion to the height of these tides. Whatever salt happens to remain in the pond, is dissolved by the additional water pouring in at the sluice; but then they begin to settle again in two or three days, and continue forming into crystals as long as any water remains, or till the next high tide again dissolves them. We are assured by Dampier, who had it from the inhabitants, that the water enters at no other passage than the sluice we have mentioned, nor at any other season but high tides at the new moon; but why that should be, he says, he cannot conjecture; and we will not spend time in resolving the difficulty. Those who come to load salt, and carry it away for exportation, lay it up in houses on the dry land, be-

Mayo Island.

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fore the waters break in; they observe, that, contrary to what is remarked of the salt-ponds in the West Indies, the salt crystallizes here in the dry season only, whereas, at Tortuga, the crystals form in the rainy season, and never before some heavy showers have fallen.

Formerly the English drove so great a trade in this commodity, that a man of war was continually stationed for the protection of the ships employed in this article; but we have reason to believe that either this trade has since diminished, or that the legislature are less regardful of the interest of commerce than they have been; for this guardship has been laid aside for a number of years. In Dampier's time, no less than a hundred English vessels used to frequent the Cape de Verd ports, and chiefly upon the account of this article, which required no other expence than a little labour, and the mere taking it up and conveying it on board, without we except the pittance bestowed on the natives for their assistance, and the use of their asses in conveying the salt into boats. As the pond is not above a mile from the shore, the price of a load is stated, or rather an ass's labour for a day, at little more than a penny.

The island of Mayo is a dry soil, consisting chiefly of sand, or a loose crumbling stone, without rivulets, springs, or any natural moisture, except the dews of the night, and the showers in the wet season, which run off as fast as they fall. In the whole island there is but one spring, and that in the very centre, running off in a small stream through a valley confined by the hills. Hence it is that we may account for the barrenness of the island, and why it produces no large trees, which can neither fix their roots in so loose, or draw the necessary nourishment in so dry, a soil. The sand-bank that forms the salt-pond produces a species of silk-cotton, that grows on a tender shrub, about four feet high, in pods of the size of a small cucumber or bean. This pod, when ripe, opens at one end, and easily separates into four pieces, the cotton bursting forth at the first aperture that appears; but however beautiful this production may be to the eye, it is of too delicate a texture, and short, to be manufactured or converted into any other use than stuffing pillows, or some such trifling purposes. The genuine cotton-shrub grows here likewise, but not in so large quantities as to make an article of foreign trade; the whole being manufactured and consumed by the inhabitants.

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In Mayo are three small towns, in which all the inhabitants of the island are contained. They are incommodiously situated, at the distance of five or six miles from the road, on the opposite side of the island; each having its church and padre, or *priest*, with a certain stipend assigned him. The metropolis is called Pinose, which has two churches and priests, and a considerable number of mean, small, and low huts, but very little superior to the Negro hamlets on the continent. The name of the second town is St. John, and of the third, Loango; both contemptible for their size, the poverty of the people, and despicable meanness of the buildings, which are formed of fig-trees (for the island produces no others of any tolerable dimensions), and the rafters of wild cane.

The chief fruits of Mayo are figs, water-melons, a few citrons and oranges, all of them bad in their kinds, and pumpkins, which serve the natives for their ordinary diet, together with calavanas, or a species of bean, of which they are fond. Dampier takes notice of no quadrupeds, besides goats, of which he says a few are bred; and yet we are told by Jurin, Linschoten, and others, that this animal is so abundant, that flocks of above a thousand together may be seen; besides asses, small horses, monkies, and apes; nay, some cows and bullocks of a small stature. Of fowls, it produces the flamingo, in shape resembling a heron, but larger, and of a reddish colour. They delight in society, and keep constantly together in flocks, feeding amidst the mud on the shore, or by the sides of salt-water ponds. These birds are shy, difficult to shoot, build their nest in ponds, of mud, which they collect into a hillock a foot and a half above the surface of the stagnated water. This little mount they form with a broad base, leaving a hollow at the top, in which they lay their eggs and hatch their young. They sit upon the eggs in a very extraordinary manner, with their long legs upon the ground, and their rumps over the nest, leaning against the hillock; an ingenious dictate of nature, by which they avoid destroying the eggs in the nest with their weight. The flamingo never lays more than two eggs, and seldom fewer: the young ones are not able to fly till they are almost full-grown; a defect which they supply by the rapidity with which they run. Their flesh, whether old or young, is lean and black, but sweet and delicious, without the least taste of fish, though they live upon them and worms. Their tongues are large, with a piece of fat at the root, that is reckoned luxuriant eating. A dish of flamingoes

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tongues is deemed the most elegant and delicious of all dainties. Besides the flamingo, Mayo produces a variety of other birds; partridges, curlews, Guinea hens, pigeons, and michotas, a species of land-fowl of the size of a crow, a green plumage, and sweet flesh. Crusias are another kind of fowl, nearly of the same size, seen only in the night, and thence esteemed a kind of owl. The flesh of this animal is reckoned excellent for consumptive patients, after every other remedy has failed. Rabeks, a large grey fowl, esteemed good eating, with a grey plumage, and long legs, resembling a heron, is another fowl common here. Dampier concludes this article with observing, that the pirates, who had, for many years before his time, greatly infested these islands, had diminished the number of all animals, and especially of the tame quadrupeds, which they killed for sea-store.

The sea is plentifully stocked with a variety of fish, mullets, dolphins, bonettos, snappers, silver-fish, porpusses, and a small species of whale that commonly visits the road every day in quest of their prey, during the season that the green turtles lay their eggs.

All the inhabitants of this island are Negroes, if we may credit Dampier; though Sanutus, Linschoten, and La Croix [e], affirm, that the natives of the Cape Verds in general were descended of Portuguese parents in their time. At present they are subject to the Portuguese, acknowlege their government, and profess their religion. They are a stout, robust, well-limbed, and active people, though both males and females are rather gross and bulky, notwithstanding the simplicity of their diet, which is wholly vegetable, and the poverty of the island. Dampier was told by one of the padres, that the inhabitants amounted to two hundred and thirty souls, who, in general, appeared a good-natured civil people. They have a Negro governor, who holds his commission of the Portuguese governor of St. Jago, and exacts a small duty from every captain of a ship that loads at his salt-pits. The seasons when the shipping arrive are this officer's harvest; he is often treated on board, and spends his whole time with the sailors, in whose conversation he delights. As no European nation, besides the English, used to frequent this port, Dampier says, that their arrival was always expected with impatience, and welcomed with joy, it being

[e] Linsch. vol. vi. cap. 95. Sanut. & La Croix, loc. citat. Damp. Voy. 2d, passim, tom iv.

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the only means the natives had of procuring a little money and neceſſaries, or of living merrily; for, beſides their hire for loading the ſhips, they likewiſe made a kind of trade of aſſes, which the ſeamen bought to ſell again at a high price in Barbadoes and other iſlands of the Weſt Indies.

Buena-viſta.

Buena-viſta lies north of Mayo, under 15 deg. 56 min. north latitude. It is alſo called Bonviſta and Bonnevue; but the firſt is the true appellation, the others being only abbreviations and corruptions of the original name, which ſignifies a *good proſpect*, intimating the beautiful appearance it makes to ſhips at ſea. This iſland is reckoned near twenty leagues in circumference, and is diſtinguiſhed on the north ſide by a ledge of white rocks that bound it. The eaſtern coaſt, that ſtretches eaſt and north-weſt, is terminated with ſundry banks to the ſea, though the interior part is chiefly mountainous. From the northern point there is a large chain of rocks, projecting near a whole league into the ſea, againſt which the waves break with incredible fury. Another point of rocks ſtretches into the ſea, on the ſouthern point of the iſland eaſtward, a league and a half beyond that point; and in this bay is the beſt road for ſhipping [1].

Ilha del Sal.

Under the parallel of 17 deg. north, and in the 22d of longitude, lies the iſland called by the Spaniards Ilha del Sal, or *Salt Iſland*, ſtretching from north to ſouth about nine leagues, but not above half a league broad. This whole iſland is full of ſalt-ponds, where the water cryſtallizes into a beautiful ſalt, the chief production to be met with here, where land is ſo barren as to bear no trees, no verdure, except a few inconſiderable ſhrubs. Dampier ſaw hardly a blade of graſs, and no other animals than a few ſmall lean goats, which bore all the marks of the poverty of the country; and yet Davity affirms, that, notwithſtanding the apparent barrenneſs of this iſland, it produces incredible flocks of goats, ſome aſſes, a few ſmall horſes, and a great variety of ſea-fowls. Perhaps the ravages of the buccaneers might have occaſioned their preſent ſcarcity. La Croix obſerves, that a prodigious number of tortoiſes lay their eggs on this iſland, which alone would be ſufficient to maintain a number of inhabitants; yet all authors agree, that it is a deſolate and deſert iſland.

[1] Dapper, p. 95.

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St. Nicholas. About seventeen leagues to the east of Salt Island lies St. Nicholas, under 17 deg. 20. min. north, say our English geographers; but, according to La Croix, De Lisle, and others, in the latitude of 16 deg. 20 min. It is in length seven or eight leagues, and in breadth, in some places, particularly at the west end, about three leagues. The road for shipping is about a league from the eastern point, where is a fine bay. The harbour, called by the Portuguese, Porto de Penguin, is on the south side, and the entrance to it filled with small islands, but with a good channel between. Going thence north-west, there is another port, called Fuor Rol, where ships may always be supplied with good fresh water [m].

St. Vincent. St. Vincent Island is about forty-three leagues distant from the Ilha del Sal, inclining a little to the northward, under the 18th deg. says Bowen, and 17th, according to La Croix, of north latitude. It is five leagues in length, extending west-south-west. On the north-west side lies a bay, a league and a half broad at the mouth, surrounded with high mountains, and stretching to the middle of the island, securely sheltered by the mountains from the westerly and north-west winds; whence it is deemed the safest harbour in all the Cape Verd Islands; yet it is difficult of access, by reason of the impetuous winds that blow off the mountains along the coast with so much fury as greatly to endanger shipping, before they can arrive at this place of tranquil security. Besides this, there are several other bays on the south side, in which ships may anchor; and of these the Portuguese generally make choice to load their hides. St. Vincent has also good fresh water, which is seen to spring up upon digging a little way into the soil of a valley; but the hills afford not a single drop; and this makes the island improper for cattle.

St. Lucia. The island of St. Lucia, which is high and mountainous, and about nine leagues long, lies under 16 deg. 18 min. north latitude, according to most writers; and yet here too our English geographers differ from the Portuguese, French, Dutch, and all other nations, placing it in 17 deg 18 min. north. What the cause of this variation in the situation of islands, so much frequented, may be, is what we are not able to conjecture. On the east-south-

[m] Dapper, ibid. Davity, tom. v. p. 627. La Croix, tom. iv. p. 645.

east

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east side is a harbour, with a bottom and shore of white sand, its mouth defended by two small islands, which afford good shelter and anchorage; but its best road is opposite to St. Vincent, to the south-west, where there is at least twenty fathom water. This island abounds in wood and fresh water, the latter found in springs at the foot of the mountains. On the west side there is no water; and here it is uninhabited, says La Croix, an expression which implies its being peopled in the other quarters, though we do not find this expressly affirmed by writers; but it abounds with goats, sea and land fowl, and tortoises [n].

St. Anthony

The most northern of all the Cape Verd Islands is St. Anthony, lying in 17 deg. north latitude; but the English geographers make it 1 deg. farther north of the equinoctial. It is divided from St. Vincent by a channel of two leagues in breadth, clear and navigable. The island stretches from north-east to south-west, and is filled with mountains, one of which is of so extraordinary a height as to be compared with the Peak of Teneriffe; of which we shall have occasion to speak in the following section. The top is constantly covered with snow; but, notwithstanding the clearness of the sky, generally hid in the clouds. On the north side it has a good road for shipping, with a collection of fresh water rising from springs, which, however, scarcely merits the name of a pond. The inhabitants amount to about five hundred, chiefly Negroes, under the protection of the Portuguese. To the north-west stands a village, containing about twenty huts, and at least fifty families, Negroes and Whites, under the authority of a governor, or, as they call him, a captain, a priest, and a schoolmaster, who trains up the children in the principles of the Christian religion, and the first elements of knowlege, though that seldom exceeds being able to read the Bible in a bungling manner. They all speak Portuguese, copy the manners of that nation, but live in the most miserable poverty, although the island produces a variety of fruits, oranges, lemons, palms, melons, bacovas, pomgranates, and the sugar-cane. Here is a large orchard, distinguished at sea by a high palm-tree, where the sailors come to gather the fruits of the season, in which they never meet with any obstruction from the natives. At a greater distance from the sea, there is another orchard, from whence the natives bring fruit upon asses to the ships, which they sell at a very

[n] La Croix, ubi supra.

low

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low price. The potatoes and melons of St. Anthony are particularly excellent, having a richness and delicacy of flavour peculiar to them; these are therefore eagerly sought after by the mariners [o].

Ilha del Fogo. In the latitude of 14 deg. 20 min. north, as foreign geographers have it, or directly in 15 deg. as it is placed in our English maps, lies Ilha del Fogo, or the *Island of Fire*, so called from a volcano, or burning mountain, that discovers it at a great distance in the night. On the west side stands a small castle, at the foot of a mountain, before which there is a large road, but inconvenient, on account of the high surges which continually roll against the shore. All round the island the wind blows impetuously, and the shore being steep, the water is not fathomable, except near the castle. We are told of no production of this Ilha del Fogo, besides vines, though, as it is inhabited, it is probable that other fruits must have been cultivated, as well as grain, and that it is not destitute of quadrupeds and sea-fowls [p].

Brava. The Ilha del Brava, or the *Savage and Desert Island*, is about four leagues in circuit, and as much south-west of Del Fogo, together with two or three small desolate islands to the north of it. On the west side there is a commodious road for watering; but the safest port is on the south-east side, where ships may anchor in fifteen fathom water, close to the shore: for this reason, it is frequented by the Dutch and Portuguese East India men. Immediately above this harbour stands a hermitage and hamlet, occupied by a few contemptible Negroes. Brava produces figs, water-melons, with a variety of other fruits, millet, rice, and roots, and has also a good number of goats, which the wretched inhabitants are neither permitted to consume or sell without permission from the governor of St. Jago; the island of which we are now to give an account [q].

St. Jago. St. Jago, or *St. James's Island*, is the most considerable of all the Cape Verds, extending about twelve leagues from north-east to south-east, at the distance of five leagues to the westward of Mayo, and lying between the 15th and 16th deg. of north latitude, and 23d of longitude west

[o] Jurin. liv. v. Voy. Holland. cap. 40. La Croix, ibid. 644.
[p] Davity, tom. v. p. 627. etiam auct. supra cit. [q] La Croix, ibid. Navig. Vert. 1607. Linsch. Voy. chap. 95.

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from London. It is the most important, best cultivated, and most fruitful, of any we have described in this latitude. The people in general are black, or at best of a mixed colour, except a few of the better rank; the governor, the bishop, some gentlemen who trade or live upon their plantations, and the padres, though many of the latter are blacks. On the east side of the island is a town called Praya, with a good port, which is seldom destitute of a considerable number of shipping, unless the crown of Portugal happens to be at war with some other power. It has long been a place where the outward-bound Guinea and Indiamen heve been accustomed to touch at for water and refreshments, whether English, French, or Dutch, but few of them call on their return to Europe. The natives bring down to the shore the produce of the country for sale to the mariners and passengers; and the whole coast resembles a fair, every place being filled with hogs, bullocks, fowls, goats, figs, plantanes, and cocoa-nuts, which they exchange for shirts, drawers, handkerchiefs, breeches, hats, waistcoats, and all manner of cloathing, especially linen, for woollen cloths are in no great repute at St. Jago. It is unwillingly, however, they part with their cattle of any kind, but for money or linen, of which the mariners must be cautious; for, like almost all the Negroes, the natives here lie in watch for every occasion of filching, being perhaps the most expert thieves in Africa. This vice, indeed, is almost peculiar to the inhabitants of Praya; for, at St. Jago town, where they are more immediately under the eye of the governor, their natural propensity is suppressed by the fear of punishment, and perhaps honesty become as habitual to them as theft is to the Prayans. We cannot imagine that, at so short a distance, and where the blood is constantly intermingled, there should be any constitutional difference, and would rather attribute the distinction to the force of education and wholesome well executed laws.

At Praya there is a fort on the summit of a hill, that entirely commands the harbour; and were it properly mounted with cannon, and garrisoned, would be a place of great strength.

The town of Saint Jago is the capital of the island, and indeed of the whole Cape de Verd islands; for they all acknowledge the authority of the Portuguese governor, whose residence is fixed here, as well as the bishop's. It stands dispersed upon the declivity of two hills, between which there is a deep valley, two hundred yards wide towards the sea,

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sea, but gradually decreasing in breadth as it retires from the shore, in a triangular form, the coast making the base. In this valley, close by the sea, there is a kind of street that runs parallel with the sea across the valley, and houses on both sides, that are watered by a rivulet which falls into a fine sandy bay, where the sea is always smooth and even as glass. This forms a convenient watering-place for ships, though the entrance be in a manner blocked up, (except to good pilots) by a chain of rocks. Near the landing-place stands a small fort, almost level with the sea, in which is kept a constant guard, regularly relieved. On the very summit of the hill behind the town is erected another fort, which, by the walls seen from the road, seems to be a fortification of some extent, method, and strength; for no writer pretends particularly to describe it; and possibly the Portuguese may be jealous of permitting foreigners to examine the works. Dampier says indeed, that he is unable to comprehend the utility of this fort, though it is apparently well garrisoned, and mounted with heavy cannon. The town consists of about three hundred houses, a church, and a convent, all built of rough stone, and greatly superior in architecture and convenience to those of the other islands. Besides the accidental ships of other nations which touch here, there are two Portuguese vessels which take it yearly in their way to Brazil. These vend among the inhabitants all kinds of European commodities, and take in exchange the principal manufacture of the island, striped cotton, which they again sell to good advantage in the Brazils. Besides this, one ship comes directly from Portugal, to take in a cargo of sugar, in exchange for the manufactures of Europe; for there is exported from hence to Lisbon no less than a hundred tons of sugar annually.

Cotton is produced in such abundance in St. Jago, that, besides the quantities sent to the Brazils, and sold to other European nations, almost all the natives are clothed with this manufacture. Here are vines, of which the natives make a wine that is not contemptible; but as they are supplied with better by the European shipping, it has fallen into disrepute. The chief fruits of the island, besides a profusion of plantanes, are citrons, lemons, oranges, musk, and water-melons, limes, guavas, pomegranates, quinces, custard-apples, papas; of which we shall only describe the two last. The custard-apple is a fruit of the size of a pomegranate, and much of that colour; the husk, shell, or rind, being, for substance and thickness, a kind of medium

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dium between the shell of a pomgranate and the peel of an orange; softer than the one, and less tough than the other. This coat is remarkably set round with a variety of small regular knobs or excrescences, within which, or rather within the whole coat, is a soft white pulp, sweet and very pleasant, greatly resembling a custard in colour and taste; whence probably it had this name given it by the English. In the middle are a few black stones, or kernels, but no core, the whole inside besides consisting of pulp. The custard-tree is of the size of a quince-tree, with long, slender, and thick-set branches, spreading all round. At the extremity of these the fruit grows, upon a stalk ten inches long, slender and tough, hanging down in a beautiful manner with the weight of the fruit. As to the papa, it is found in most of the countries within the tropics; and so indeed is the custard-apple. It is a fruit of the size of a water-melon, hollow as that, and having a strong resemblance to it in shape and colour, both internally and externally; but, instead of the flat kernels of the melon, the papas have a handful of small blackish seeds like pepper-corns, and, like these, hot and pungent to the tongue. When ripe, the fruit is soft, sweet, and luscious, but hard and unsavoury before it has arrived at full maturity; though even then it supplies, when boiled, the place of turnips, or other vegetables, with beef or pork, and is much esteemed by sailors for this purpose. The tree bearing this fruit is about ten or twelve feet high, the trunk at the bottom about two feet in diameter, and lessening gradually to the top. It has no small branches, but leaves shooting out immediately by a stalk from the body of the tree, amidst which the fruit grows. The leaves are serrated, and of an oval form.

The chief animals bred in this island are cows, horses, asses, mules, deer, hogs, goats, and black-faced monkies with long tails. Of the feathered kind there are found cocks, hens, ducks, Guinea hens, both tame and wild, paroquets, parrots, pigeons, turtle-doves, crab-catchers, curlieus, and a variety of others, valuable only for their plumage. Such is the account of these islands given by the authors the reader will find cited in the margin; to which we may add what Jarric affirms, that so numerous are horses in the island of St. Jago, that upwards of three thousand, fit for a campaign, can be raised there. The same writer adds, that, in all the Cape de Verd islands, the padres officiate as physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, uniting in their own persons the cure of soul and body;

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body; but their medical skill consists chiefly in magic, forcery, and a correspondence with the devil, or rather in fraud, hypocrisy, and imposture [r].

SECT. VI.

Canary Islands.

Canary Islands.

WITHOUT entering upon a dispute of little consequence to our readers, whether the Canary islands be the same which the ancients called the Fortunate islands, and are particularly described by Ptolemy and the Elder Pliny, we shall think it sufficient that we give the reader a just account of them: these are speculative points, for which he may consult our Ancient History, and the Greek and Latin geographers; though we cannot avoid observing, that, if Ptolemy describes the same islands, he has certainly placed them near eleven degrees too near the equinoctial, under the 16th degree; from which circumstance some geographers have thought that the Cape de Verd islands had formerly bore this appellation. We are now well assured by the most accurate observations, that the Canary islands lie between 27 degrees 10 minutes and 29 degrees 50 minutes north latitude, and between the 12th and 17th degrees 50 minutes longitude west from London. Thevet affirms, that, by the Africans in general, they were called Elbard; and Gomara asserts, that they had the name Canary given by the Spaniards, on account of the number of large dogs which they found on one of these islands. Hernius, however, and Dr. Harris agree, that the word Canary is not borrowed from the Latin term for that animal, according to Pliny, nor from the number of dogs with which they abound, as Gomara conjectures; but from the Canaanites, or Phœnicians, who, as Scylax Cariandenus observes, used to sail often from the continent to Carne, which others think is only a contraction of Canary. But these are all conjectures, which serve only to shew the erudition, the ingenuity, and talents of historians for hypotheses, which add nothing to truth, or the improvement of their readers (A).

[r] Navig. Holland, A. 1598, 99. Sanut. lib. vii. Purch. lib. vii. cap. 12. Linsch. cap. 95. Thevet. Cosm. lib. iii. Davity, tom. v. p. 627. La Croix, p. iv. p. 630, & seq. Jarric, lib. v.

(A) It may deserve notice, that Abulfeda, Ulug Beg, or Beigh, and other Arabian geographers, have called these islands Jazaia Alcha Adal, or *Happy Islands*.

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Nor are writers less divided with respect to their number, than about their situation and name. Gramaye asserts, that six were only known to Ptolemy and Pliny; and that, even in this number the island of Madeira was included; whereas modern travellers and geographers reckon no less than twelve, exclusive of Madeira; but of these seven only have been thought to merit any description. These are Lancerota, Fuerte Ventura, Gran-Canaria, Ferro, Palma, Teneriffe, and Gomara. To these Purchas adds certain small islands, by the names of Lobos, Roca, Gracioſa, Santa Clara, Allegrança, and Inferno; the proper names of which, according to Sanutus, are Vecchio Marino, Sainte Claire, Rocho, Gracioſa, and Alegrança; omitting likewise two of the number mentioned by the former compiler.

Whether or not the Canaries were known in the days of Ptolemy and Pliny, certain we are, that, before the year 1402, or, according to some Spanish historians, 1405, the moderns were entirely ignorant of them, though they were peopled by Christians, and even catholics, who must have had some communication with Europe, by their acknowleging the supremacy of the see of Rome, as it is allowed on all hands they did. By what channel this intercourse was carried on, or how Christianity came to be planted there, history is entirely silent. This, however, is affirmed, that John king of Castile having invested a Frenchman, called de Betancourt, with the property of these islands, which had been seen by some mariners, if he could conquer them; this adventurer immediately set to work in providing for his expedition. He had the good fortune to make himself master of Lancerota, with its citadel, and Fuerte Ventura, after storming a convent of the order of St. Francis. His right he made over, according to Gramaye, five years afterwards to Diego Herrera, by whom it was that Fuerte Ventura was conquered. Sanutus says, that Betancourt undertook this expedition by the permission of the queen of Castile; and that he dying, the property of the two islands was sold by his heirs to Herrera, or rather to the infant Don Henry, who sent Herrera to make farther conquests, in which he succeeded, by reducing Ferro and Gomara. In process of time, the other islands were conquered in the same manner; but it would not be worth while to dwell upon a subject so variously related. This much only is certain, that in the peace between Ferdinand of Castile and Alphonso V. of Portugal, after a bloody war in which these monarchs had been engaged,

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gaged, it was stipulated, that they should reciprocally renounce all pretensions prior to the date of this treaty; that henceforward the Canary islands should inseparably belong to the crown of Castile; and that, as an equivalent, the commerce and navigation of Guinea should belong to Portugal, exclusive of the Castilians. This was the treaty signed on the 4th of November, 1479, at Alcobazas [a].

The Canary islands lie east from the coast of Biledulgerid, between the 27th deg. 10 min. and the 29th deg. 50 min. north latitude, and between the 12th and 17th, 50 min. longitude west from London. La Croix, however, alters this geography, insisting, that they include all that space between the 26th deg. 30 min. and 29th deg. 30 min. north latitude, opposite to Cape Nun, about seventy or eighty leagues from the Barbary coast, and about nine or ten leagues distant from each other.

If we attend to the nature of these islands, we shall find that, their situation being so near the tropic of Cancer, the climate must necessarily be hot, as they lie greatly exposed to the strongest heat of the sun, as is sufficiently proved by their early harvests, which happen generally in the months of March and April. The soil, indeed, is every where admirably rich and fruitful, but particularly famous for the production of that grape of which the Canary wine, so much esteemed all over Europe, is made, and exported in such large quantities.

According to Sanutus, there was formerly but one island so remarkably fertile either in corn or wine, though, at present, they all produce every necessary of life. Here wheat, barley, honey, wax, sugar-canes, oranges, figs, pomgranates, citrons, peaches, pine-apples, with a variety of other fruits, spring up in the utmost abundance and perfection. Here also grows a large quantity of a plant called orissel, which several botanists affirm to be the phalaris of Dioscorides (B), and which Delechamp, upon Pliny, calls the second genus of the barba, or, more properly, grain of Theophrastus. This plant they cultivate with great care, for the nourishment of those little birds so valuable for their beautiful plumage and sweet voices,

[a] Purch. Pilg. lib. vii. cap. 12. Cadamost, lib. vii. Sanut. lib. iii. Gramaye Afrique, lib. ix. cap. 3.

(B) This is a genus of the triandria-dygynia, with a bivalve corolla, and only a single seed contained in the corolla, in which it perfectly resembles the orisell.

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well known by the name of Canary birds. In these islands there is likewise produced a great quantity of a gum or resin, called bre, which is an exsudation from the pine by the means of fire; different, however, from the method practised in Norway, and the northern countries of Europe. Nor are the Canary islands less abundantly supplied with cattle, such as cows, sheep, goats, and wild asses, which run about the mountains in droves; and perhaps their most valuable article of commerce are the skins and hides, in which they deal largely with all the maritime European powers. Their woods are stored with a variety of the feathered kind, and the surrounding seas stocked with shoals of fish, particularly sturgeon, which forms the chief sustenanee of the poor. All the islands have ditches and marshes, filled with sea water at spring-tides, and afterwards evaporated by the heat of the sun, till a fine sea-salt is formed.

As to the original inhabitants of these islands, there is a variety of opinions; but what is advanced by the greater number of writers as the most probable, is the following, though it likewise labours under difficulties which are too obvious to require a formal refutation.

They are said to have been exiles from Africa, whom the Romans banished hither, after having cut out their tongues, for having blasphemed against their gods, or the Roman divinities; it is, however confessed, by persons perfectly acquainted with their language, that it has not the least resemblance or affinity either to the Latin or Arabic; nor indeed would it be easy to conceive how parents, deprived of the organ of speech, should be able to transmit the language to posterity; for writing, and the orthography, could never teach the sound of the elements, or be able to annex any certain and fixed ideas to the different characters. Nicols says, that all the descendents of the ancient inhabitants speak the same language; which, however, is diversified into a variety of different dialects. They were clothed, says the same author, in hides and skins, without any particular cut or fashion. Amidst caves and rocks, their only dwellings, they lived in the most intimate friendship and happy union. Their language varied but little from what is now spoken by their posterity. Their food was the flesh of horned cattle, dogs, and the milk of goats. They made also a kind of pudding, or bread, of milk and ground or triturated corn, which they called goffia, now common in the island under the

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same name. Nicols has frequently eat of it, and praises it as nourishing and pleasant to the palate.

When Cadamosto made his voyage to the Canaries, anno 1445, the Spaniards were then only in possession of the four smaller islands; the rest being inhabited, as he says, by a race of idolaters, whom the Spaniards called Guanchas, or Guanches, a name which Linschoten, and other writers, apply to their descendents. In number, the inhabitants of Gran Canaria amounted to nine thousand, and of Teneriffe to five thousand, men, women, and children, of a barbarous nature and gigantic stature. Polygamy was permitted among them, every man keeping as many women as he could afford to maintain, without any restriction of law or custom; and they suckled their children with the milk of goats. All their property was in common; that is, their food was so, for all other property and riches they were strangers to. The earth was cultivated and ploughed with the horns of bullocks, and the sheep shorn, and the beards of the inhabitants cut with whetted flints instead of iron instruments, of which they had no knowlege. So much did they detest the notion of shedding human blood, that notwithstanding they are called barbarous, no people on earth shewed more humanity in this particular; for having taken a Spanish vessel, the crew of which had grossly insulted them, their hatred could not inspire them with more rigorous punishment than setting their prisoners to watch their flocks; an employment which they esteemed ignominious and mean: but this excess of rudeness, says our author, did not prevent their having notions of futurity; for each community, or little society, had always two chiefs or kings, one dead and the other living. As soon as any of their princes died, they washed his body with the greatest care, and placing it erect in a cave, they put a sceptre in his hand, with two jars by his side, the one filled with milk, the other with wine, as the necessary provision for his journey [w].

At the time when Cadamosto visited the Canaries, each island was divided into a number of different kingdoms, or rather lordships, of which Teneriffe alone contained nine. The wars which were frequently kindled among those little states, made them forget the natural senti-

[w] Herbert, p. 4. Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 212, & seq. Peter Martyr, dec. i. p. 9. Voy. de Cadamosto, apud Ramus. tom. i. p. 98. Davity, p. 72.

ments

ments of humanity and tenderneſs peculiar to this people, and ſometimes to carry the fury of revenge to the utmoſt exceſs, till the face of the country was overſpread with carnage and blood. Yet were their weapons the moſt ſimple in the world, conſiſting of ſtones, and two kinds of lances; the one armed with horn, the other unarmed wood, but pointed and hardened in the fire. To protect them againſt the ſcorching beams of the ſun in the hot ſeaſons, and againſt the inclemency of the cold in their winters, they anointed their bodies with a mixture of tallow and the juice of certain plants, which tinged their ſkins with all manner of colours, red, yellow, and green, and women, as well as men, made uſe of this extraordinary defence and ornament.

It appeared likewiſe that each iſland had its particular mode of worſhip; nay, that the different little ſtates within the precincts of the ſame iſland differed both in the form of their religion and government; although within the ſame ſocieties every thing was in common, religion, cuſtoms, language, manners, and property itſelf. In the iſland of Teneriffe alone there were no leſs than ten different ſorts of idolaters or Pagans; ſome worſhipping the ſun, ſome the moon, and the reſt of the heavenly bodies. Polygamy, as we have ſaid, was permitted; but the virginity of the bride belonged of right to the chief; and both ſhe and the bridegroom thought themſelves highly honoured if he condeſcended to confer upon them this mark of his regard, and to claim his right. They continued long after the conqueſts of the Spaniards, who ſuffered them to have their own lords and chiefs. A barbarous cuſtom, which was always practiſed upon the acceſſion of a new prince, was the ſacrificing a certain number of young perſons of both ſexes, in honour of him, and to procure bleſſings upon his reign. The manner of performing this inhuman ceremony was thus: a great feaſt was given, at the cloſe of which, all thoſe who were deſirous of proving their affection and loyalty were conducted to the ſummit of a ſteep rock, whence, after pronouncing certain myſterious words, and going through a number of abſurd ceremonies, they flung themſelves over into a deep valley below, and were daſhed in pieces by the violence of the fall. In reward of their loyalty the prince thought himſelf bound in duty and gratitude to beſtow all poſſible marks of kindneſs and favour on the parents of the infatuated victims, a circumſtance which renders it doubtful whether theſe young perſons did not devote their lives

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as proofs rather of filial affection than of fidelity to their ſovereign. Many of theſe cuſtoms ſtill remain among the poſterity of the Guanches, which will beſt appear by relating what modern travellers have obſerved upon their manners.

The natural inhabitants of the Canaries, ſay they, are ſtout and robuſt, but inferior in ſize and ſtrength to their anceſtors. Their complexion is neither abſolutely white nor black, but a kind of mixed colour, or tawny, with large flat noſes. They are of a lively and quick genius, alert, active, brave, and cunning, much addicted to war, in which particular they differ from the natural diſpoſition of their anceſtors, who, however, from circumſtances of policy, were often engaged in war. They are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the Spaniards by the name of Guanches; which indeed they merit from their ſtrict adherence to many of the cuſtoms and manners of the ancients. One quality they have in particular in common with their gigantic predeceſſors; that is, a moſt voracious appetite, and a ſtomach ſo devouring, that it is uſual for one man to eat up at a meal a dozen of rabbits and a kid; a fact we are ſcarce able to credit upon the authority of all thoſe writers whom the reader will find cited in the margin [x].

They ſpeak but little, and with great deliberation, uttering their words between their teeth and lips; and beſides the language of the country talk Spaniſh fluently. Doctor Sprat relates, that, in Teneriffe, the deſcendents of the ancient Guanches live upon grain formed into cakes with milk and honey; and that they keep their food in ſkin-pouches, ſuſpended to their belts and girdles, in which they likewiſe bake them in the ſmoke. Some of them rigidly abſtain from wine, and cannot be prevailed on to taſte animal food. So active and light they are, that they run up and down mountains, and ſkip from rock to rock with amazing facility. In all thoſe kind of exploits they uſe a pole nine or ten feet long, with which they aſſiſt themſelves in leaping or ſliding from one precipice to another, and in breaking off the ſharp angles of rocks, frequently truſting themſelves to a ſtep not three inches wide, in which they fix their toes, and ſeem to hang over frightful heights and precipices. Sir Richard Hawkins had ſeen them climb and deſcend ſteeps and high

[x] Doctor Sprat, p. 213. Durette, p. 74. Voyage de Herbert, p. 5. La Croix, tom. iv. p. 670. Prevoſt, tom. iii. p. 6. Cadamoſto, apud Ramuſ. vol. i. p. 99. cum multis aliis.

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rocks in this manner, and by a method equally aſtoniſhing and frighful to the beholder; and Dr. Sprat relates a ſtory of twenty-eight natives, whom the Spaniſh governor committed priſoners to a caſtle of a prodigious height, where it was thought they were perfectly ſecure: however, they found means to get over the walls, and deſcended the ſteep and rugged precipices with a boldneſs and activity altogether amazing to ſuch as have ſeen the ſituation of the citadel. The ſame writer adds, that the Canarians have a very extraordinary method of whiſtling, which may be heard at the diſtance of five miles; a fact that is aſſerted by a number of other writers likewiſe, who aſſure us, that if a Guanch whiſtles in your ear, it will be ſome days before you recover the uſe of that organ, ſo piercingly loud is the noiſe.

The learned Dr. Sprat has favoured the world with a variety of curious anecdotes concerning this people: among others, he relates, that the Guanches uſe ſtones in all their fights, and throw them with a power equal to the force of that of a muſket-ball. Cadamoſto, as we have ſaid, makes the ſame remark; and both writers agree, that they have ſeen theſe barbarians fling ſtones with ſo certain an aim as to hit the ſmalleſt mark at a great diſtance, and with ſuch force as, with a few blows, to penetrate and break in pieces a ſtrong ſhield. Upon the firſt reduction of theſe iſlands the inhabitants were ſo expert in this exerciſe, that a fellow undertook to give twelve oranges to three men, and keep an equal number, with which he would hit one of them, at the diſtance of one hundred paces, at every throw; at the ſame time parrying off their oranges with his hand, though they pelted him as thick as hail: the trial was made by order of the Spaniſh governor, and ſucceeded beyond the fellow's promiſes, to the great admiration of all the ſpectators [y].

The chief and moſt conſiderable of all theſe iſlands is Gran Canaria, which is honoured with the reſidence of a biſhop, and has an inquiſition eſtabliſhed in it. Here alſo the governor of the Canaries has his palace, where he holds courts of juſtice for deciding differences, redreſſing grievances, and puniſhing crimes. At preſent, we are told, all the inhabitants, both Spaniards and natives of this iſland, are of the Roman catholic religion. At firſt, indeed, many of them fled to the mountains, to avoid the perſecution of the inquiſition,

y Durette, p. 71. Vide etiam auct. citat. ibid.

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and preserve the liberty of their ancient religion; but they are now all dispersed, or obliged to embrace those notions with which the holy fathers chuse to impress their minds. They are, it must be owned, but sorry proselytes; for the inquisition gives itself but very little trouble about the sincerity of their professions, as long as they are implicitly obedient to their oppressive authority. The government is composed of a viceroy or governor, with three auditors, who form what is called a royal audience[z].

Palma island.

We come now to a particular description of each island; and shall begin with Palma, the most westward and distant from the continent of Africa, taking them in a regular course as they lie eastward. This island, which, according to Barbot and Davity, was anciently called Capraria, lies to the north-north-west of Ferro, in the latitude of 28 deg. 30 min. north, or, by the maps of some English geographers, under 29 deg. north latitude, 18 deg. west longitude from London. The same writers call it ten leagues in length, seven in breadth, and about twenty-six in circuit; though some other geographers describe it of a circular form nearly, except the projection of one angle at the north-east end, which forms a kind of horn. In this island stands the burning mountain Capraria, whence the island had its name; though other writers conjecture, that both the island and mountain were so called from the great number of goats bred here. It is agreed on all hands, that the soil is fertile in corn, wine, and sugar-canes, as well as in fruits, quadrupeds, and birds of all kinds. Nuno de Penna relates, in his Historical Memoirs, that on the 13th of November, 1677, a little after sun-set, there was a violent earthquake felt for thirteen leagues round the island, attended with a dreadful noise, that continued without intermission for five days; during which the earth was opened in horrible gaps in several places, but chiefly upon the mountain of Goats, or Capraria, a mile and a half from the sea, from whence issued a violent fire and fierce flames, which vomited up great stones and large pieces of rocks. The same thing happened in several of the adjacent places; and, in the space of fifteen minutes, no less than twenty-eight dreadful gulfs opened round the foot of the mountain; each

[z] Davity, tom. v. p. 609. Sprat, ubi supra, & auct. citat. in loc. citat.

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of them throwing up flames, smoke, and liquid fire. The same author adds, that on the 20th of November following, there was a second eruption of the mountain, which, in the same manner, poured forth torrents of melted stones and minerals, which ran for the distance of seven leagues, where, at this day, large heaps of cinders are to be seen. All the neighbouring lands were entirely wasted, and the people forced to quit their habitations.

This island has a handsome town of its own name, and a safe harbour, well-frequented by the shipping of different nations, which come hither for wines; these being reckoned equal to malmsey, and by some thought the best of any produced in the Canaries. These wines, and particularly what is made at a place called Brenin, are bought up with avidity; and of this last there is exported to the West Indies, and elsewhere, at least twelve thousand pipes a year.

The next island is Ferro, situated about two leagues, says Prevost, but six, according to other writers, south-south-east of Palma. Barbot and Davity affirm, that this is the same island which the ancient geographers called Pluvialia, and which goes under the name of Hiero by the Spaniards, Fiero by the Portuguese, Ferro by the Italians and English, and L'Isle de Fer by the French. Barbot likewise calls it, but mistakenly, the most westward of the Canary Islands, though later observations have proved Palma to be the farthest west. It lies under 27 deg. north latitude, and is about ten leagues in circuit (C). This island, according to Thevet, is without doubt the Ombra Pluvialia of Pliny and Solinus. It has some towns, and the capital is adorned with a church and monastery dedicated to St. Francis. The soil is dry and barren, a circumstance attributed to the scarcity of water, of which there is not a drop, except what is found in some crevices of rocks near the shore. But this deficiency the islanders supply by a strange and miraculous *Ferro.*

(C) This island is rendered famous by the French navigators, who fix their first meridian in the center of it, as the Dutch have done their's through the peak of Teneriffe. At present, however, it is customary among geographers to reckon the first meridian from the capital of their own country; though this leads to confusion in general histories and geographical works, where there ought to be one fixed and established meridian.

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tree, of which stories greatly exceeding all credit are related. As they are told with much the same circumstances by almost all voyagers, it would be an injustice to our readers entirely to admit them, though the credit they deserve must rest upon their own judgment, as it is not the business of historians absolutely to deny facts, which appear supernatural, if they stand attested by undoubted and universal authority and assent. This tree the Spaniards call santo, from its extraordinary qualities, and the natives gawe; the top of it is always covered with a thick cloud, except in the heat of the day, when it seems to be dispelled, which drops a dew that distils down the leaves and branches of the tree of clear water, to the quantity of twenty tons a day. This water is received in a cistern of stone, about six feet deep and twenty feet square, standing on the north side of the tree. So precious is the santo tree to the inhabitants, that they have secured it with a high wall. If this cloud should sometimes fail, as happens occasionally in the month of August, then Providence supplies the loss of it by a thick vapour that rises from the sea, and, spreading itself over the arbor santo, is received in form of a dew upon the leaves, and discharged in a clear sweet water by the bark and branches into the cistern. When the Spaniards first arrived here, not finding a drop of water upon the island, they asked the natives in what manner they supplied the want of so essential an article of living? and were told, that they dressed their provisions in the rainy seasons, and kept as much of the water as they possibly could. They had covered the tree with canes, earth, and other materials, hoping to oblige the Spaniards to relinquish their conquest, when they found they wanted water. But an accident destroyed the effects of their artifice; for a woman, who had granted some favours to a Spaniard, revealed the secret to her lover, who immediately gave notice of it to the commanding officer. In a word, this marvellous tree supplies not only the inhabitants, and the animals wild and tame, of the island with a sufficiency of fresh water, but likewise the shipping, which put in here for that purpose[a]. It is described to be of a middling stature; and Lewis Jackson, who affirms

[a] La Croix, tom. iv. p. 702. P. Mart. dia. i. p. 12. Hawkins, ubi supra. Durette, p. 71. Dellen, p. 67. Linsch. p. 177. Bukman, p. 7. Purch. lib. vii. cap. 12. Prevost, tom. iii. p. 22. Nicols, ibid.

that

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that he had often ſeen it, compares it to a full grown oak. Purchas ſays it is of the thickneſs of an oak, with a prodigious ſtrong bark, and leaves reſembling thoſe of the laurel, but ſmaller. It bears a fruit, or kernel, incloſed in a hard ſhell, of a delicious taſte and high aromatic flavour; but whether there be in really ſuch a tree or not, is what we muſt leave the reader to determine, after he has peruſed what we ſhall ſubjoin in a note (D).

To

(D) There is not a voyager who has been in the Canaries, a geographer that deſcribes them, or a naturaliſt who gives a philoſophical account of the production of theſe iſlands, but aſſerts the exiſtence of the ſanto tree, except Le Maire. It is true, that their relations vary in particulars; ſome deſcribing more than one tree of this genus, others giving a different account of its ſtature, and the quantity of water obtained from it; but no one, beſides the above writer, pretends to queſtion the reality of the fact. Le Maire, indeed, treats the whole as a fiction; yet his own relation is ſo contradictory, that very little regard is to be paid to a writer, who is a philoſopher in nothing beſides his incredulity. When this gentleman was in the Canaries, in 1628, he made all poſſible enquiry into the truth of the facts we have related. In one place he aſſerts, that all the natives he had talked to, aſſured him it was a mere vulgar error; but ſoon after he ſpeaks a different language, and relates that ſeveral of the Canarians believed the fact, and aſſured him that the tree had all the qualities aſcribed to it. Now, beſides the inconſiſtence in this account of Le Maire's, it may be objected, that he took the whole of his relation from the natives of Teneriffe; for he acknowleges his never having been at Ferro, or converſed with one of the natives; whereas many of the preceding writers had been eye-witneſſes of what they aſſert; and, in particular, Jackſon, whoſe relation is uniform, ſenſible, and conſiſtent; which is more than can be ſaid of Le Maire's. Sir Richard Hawkins had likewiſe ſeen the ſanto tree, though he differs in ſome circumſtances from Jackſon and Linſchoten. Upon the whole, we cannot reaſonably reject the accounts of thoſe perſons who aſſert facts from their own knowlege, unleſs they are abſurd, or that we have detected them in falſhoods. The preſent fact may be embarraſſed with ſome difficulties; but there is no proving its impoſſibility; nor is there any thing in it ſupernatural or abſurd, though Le Maire has been pleaſed to call it ſo. However, we ſhall leave it to the reader to judge for himſelf, after he has conſulted all the above authorities.

We muſt add, in ſupport of Le Maire's conjecture, that Barbot has ſome doubts about the truth of the fact, though he pretends to determine nothing. One Engliſh compiler

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To these particulars we shall add, whether water be obtained from one or more of these trees, certain it is, that about eight thousand souls, and at least a hundred thousand head of quadrupeds, are supplied by some means with this element; though all writers agree, that the island affords not a single drop in the natural way, except what the inhabitants preserve in cisterns after the rainy season, and what is lodged in the crevices and chinks of rocks after heavy rains [b].

Although the generality of writers, and particularly Linschoten, describe this island as perfectly dry and barren, yet there are not wanting some who affirm, that it produces corn, sugar-canes, and a great abundance of fruits and plants; and this relation is corroborated from the great number of inhabitants, and the large flocks of cattle which cover the face of the country, and could not be supported in a barren island.

Gomara island. The next island in our coast eastward is Gomara, lying under the 28th deg. of north latitude, and south-east of Palma. Formerly the island was barren, and the inhabitants barbarous; at present it is well cultivated, producing great abundance of sugar-canes and wine. Heylin makes it twenty-two leagues in compass, and eight only in length; adding, that only one barbarous custom remains among the natives, which is the having women in common; for though every man marries a certain woman, whom he is obliged to maintain, yet he chearfully lets her out to his neighbour in exchange for his wife; and refusing this good-natured action would be reckoned uncivil and selfish: whence it is that the sister's son always is esteemed heir at law, there never being any certainty of the father. Barbot says, that it has a good haven, and a town of the same name, though the island was anciently called Theode. Here the West India Spanish flota stops for wines, fruits, and the other productions of the country; among which the Sanson reckon the tree that produces the sanguis draconis. The whole country is moun-

[b] Linsch. & auct. citat. ubi supra.

there is, we mean Bowen the geographer, who absolutely rejects it, though he seems to have consulted but few authorities, and is indeed a servile copier from Le Maire and Barbot.

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tainous, but easy enough to travellers, on account of roads, which, we are told, are exceeding deep and wide[c].

Island of Teneriffe.

We come now to the famous island of Teneriffe, which, though only the second in dignity, may be looked upon as the first of the Canaries in point of extent, wealth, and fertility. Formerly it was called Nivaria, and is supposed to be the island of that name mentioned by Pliny the Elder; but this opinion is disputed. Sir Edmund Scorey says, that it derived the appellation Nivaria from the circle or collar of snow that surrounds the pike of Tenda, now called the pike of Teneriffe: this last name, he alleges, was imposed by the inhabitants of Palma island; for tener, in their language, signifies *snow*, and effe, *a mountain*. It lies under 27 deg. 30 min. north latitude. Prevost, indeed, says, that the south end of the island stands almost in 28 deg. and the northern extremity in 28 deg. 40 min. which makes more than the difference of a degree in the situation. The form is triangular, extending itself into three capes, the nearest being about eighty leagues or more from the coast of Africa. What renders this island so famous in history, is the celebrated peak, of whose height so many marvellous stories have been related, and which Scaliger is not ashamed to call sixty miles; Panicius, who lived in the island, seventy; Thevet, fifty-four; Nicolls, an Englishman, who resided some years here, forty-seven; and Varenius, four miles and five furlongs, in its perpendicular height. All the other writers, it is probable, compute, by the oblique ascent of a person journeying to the summit; and even then their relations seem extravagant. Sir Thomas Herbert affirms, that the top is seen at the distance of one hundred and twenty miles at sea, provided the weather is clear; but sir Edmund Scorey says, that, from the base, beginning at the town of Gara Chico, to the very summit, is but two days journey and a half; which, in fact, is not equal to one day's journey, if we consider that travellers lie by during the heat, and have also to combat with so many steep ascents, that their pace must be exceeding slow. Although the vertex appears sharp, and the exact resemblance of a cone, yet it is flat for the extent of an acre of ground, in the centre of which is a dreadful volcano, which frequently breaks out into flames, so violent as to shake the whole island with an incredible force. In the year 1704, there happened the most alarming instance of this kind ever known. The earthquake began the

[c] Vide La Croix, ubi supra, & auct. citat.

24th

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24th of December, and, in the ſpace of three hours, twenty-nine ſhocks were felt. After this, they became ſo violent as to rock all the houſes on their foundations, and oblige the inhabitants to abandon them. The conſternation became univerſal, and the people, headed by the biſhop, made proceſſions and public prayers in the open fields. On the 31ſt, a great light was obſerved on Manja, towards the White Mountains: here the earth opened, and two volcanos were formed, which vomited up ſuch heaps of ſtones as formed two conſiderable mountains; and the combuſtible matter, which ſtill continued to be thrown up, kindled above fifty fires in the neighbourhood. In this ſituation things remained till the 5th of January, when the ſun was totally obſcured by the clouds of ſmoke and flame, which renewed and augmented the conſternation and terror of the people. Before night, the whole country, for three leagues round, was in flames by the flowing of liquid fire, with the rapidity of a torrent, into all quarters, the effects of another volcano, which had burſt open at leaſt in thirty different gulfs, within the circumference of half a mile, towards Oratavia. What greatly increaſed the horror of the ſcene, was the violence of the earthquake, which never once remitted, but ſhook with its force ſome houſes into ruins, and kept others tottering upon their foundations, while the miſerable inhabitants were driven, defenceleſs and diſmayed, into the open fields, where they every moment expected to be ſwallowed up by ſome new gulf. The noiſe of the volcano was heard twenty leagues at ſea; and it is credibly atteſted, that the ſea ſhook at that diſtance with ſuch violence as alarmed the mariners, who imagined the ſhip had ſtruck upon a rock, till the continuance of the motion gave them the firſt intimation of what it really was. A torrent of ſulphur, and the melted ore of minerals, ruſhed forth from this laſt volcano towards Guimar; and the houſes and public buildings of this town were thrown down by the violence of the accompanying earthquake. On the 2d of February, another volcano broke out in the town of Guimar, which ſwallowed up, and entirely annihilated a large church. Thus, from the 24th of December to the 23d of February, the inhabitants were kept in conſtant alarms by continued ſhocks of earthquakes, and by terrible volcanos breaking out in different quarters of the iſland.

To return to Teneriffe: ſir Edmund Scorey obſerves, that almoſt the whole mountain, to that part of it diſtinguiſhed by the name of the peak, is beautifully adorned

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adorned with trees of various kinds, and the tallest, perhaps, that any country on the globe can produce. Amidst these, little rivulets come tumbling down the rocks, which add to the beauty of the landscape. He observes, that, at the very summit of the peak, and near the bottom of the mountain, the air is insupportably hot, but extremely temperate, if not cold, about the middle of the height. The proper seasons for making this journey are the summer-months; for, in the winter, the torrents of melted snow and rain so swell the rivulets as to render it impracticable. He says likewise, that the best hours for travelling are from midnight to sun-rise. To a spectator on the top of the peak, the sun, when rising, appears scarce half the dimensions it seems to have to a spectator placed on the lower grounds. It likewise appears to the eye as forming a fiery circle, like that made by a coal of fire whirled round. Nothing can be more serene, clear, and beautiful, than the morning sky, while the plains below seem to be fringed with snow, which, in fact, is nothing more than the white clouds, above which you are mounted several furlongs. All the top of the mountain is perfectly barren, owing, perhaps, to the quantity of vitrified stones and flints vomited out by the volcano, and spread over all this part of the peak. What merits notice is, that veins of brimstone can be traced amidst the congealed snow, as if the two most opposite elements in nature were here combined. If a great stone be thrown into the volcano, it tumbles down with a hollow and dreadful noise like thunder. This is the gulf described by the correspondents of the Royal Society, called by the Spaniards the Devil's Cauldron. Sir Edmund Scorey says, that the Guanches looked upon this as the future residence of the wicked, where they received the punishment of their crimes, by being steeped in liquid burning sulphur, while the good men passed into the pleasant valley of Laguna beneath, to add, by their felicity, to the torments of the other; there being no greater punishment to vice than the having blessings in view, of which they are doomed never to participate.

Dr. Sprat relates, from a physician who had lived twenty years upon this island, the following ingenious theory, which he founded upon a great number of observations. This gentleman gave it as his opinion, that the island of Teneriffe, being strongly impregnated with sulphur, had formerly taken fire through every quarter, there appearing huge mountains of calcined stones in all parts of the island, especially in the south-west side, which he imagines were vomited

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vomited up from the bowels of the earth at this general conflagration. He adds, that the greateſt quantity of ſulphur lying about the centre of the iſland, occaſioned the raiſing of the peak to its preſent extraordinary height, for theſe calcined rocks lie for three or four miles round its bottom: that from the peak to the ſouth-weſt, almoſt as far as the ſhore, are ſtill to be ſeen the channels made by the rivers of brimſtone and melted ore, that ruſhed down with ſuch impetuoſity as to cover all the adjacent country, and render it ever ſince perfectly barren and uſeleſs: that ſome of the calcined rocks reſemble ſilver, ſome iron, and others copper ore: that in the ſouth-weſt part of the iſland are high mountains, of a bluiſh earth, and ſtones which have a yellow ruſt on them, like that of copper and vitriol; and that here are ſeveral ſprings ſtrongly impregnated with vitriol. The ſame naturaliſt informs us, that, during his reſidence at Teneriffe, there happened an eruption of a volcano on the iſland of Palma, which occaſioned a violent earthquake in Teneriffe, and terrified the inhabitants with a rolling dreadful noiſe, ſtrongly reſembling diſtant thunder. Such is the account of the famous peak of Teneriffe given by this gentleman, which he reduces, and with ſeeming reaſon, to two miles perpendicular height from the ſurface of the ſurrounding ocean.

As to the reſt of the iſland, it is deſcribed in the following manner, by the accurate Scorey, whoſe relation ſurpaſſes in minuteneſs all the accounts ever received of Teneriffe.

The iſland of Teneriffe is divided in the middle by a ridge of mountains, which have been compared to the roof of a church, the peak forming the ſpire or ſteeple in the centre. Scorey ſays, that, if you divide it into twelve parts, ten of theſe conſiſt of rocks, woody and inacceſſible mountains and vineyards; and yet, from the ſmall remainder of arable ground, he has ſeen two hundred and fifty thouſand hanackes of wheat, beſides immenſe quantities of rye and barley, produced (E). Nothing can be more delicately rich than the ſoil, if the Spaniards knew, or would take the trouble of properly cultivating it; for, beſides the abundance in which it bears grain, fruits, and roots, it communicates to them a peculiar elegance of fla-

(E) Four hanackes and a half are equal to one quarter Engliſh meaſure (1).

(1) Scorey, apud Purchas, lib. vii. cap. 12. ſec. 3.

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vour, unknown in other countries under the ſame parallel. The beſt vineyards are about Buena-viſta, Oratavia, Dante, and Tigueſta, which produce two ſorts of wine, the vidonia and malveſia, or malmſey. The firſt is extracted from a long grape, and is a dull, heavy wine, greatly inferior to the other, which is drawn from a large round grape, in ſuch quantities as to be exported to all the corners of the world, and every where greatly eſteemed. Great ſtore of the fineſt melons, pomegranates, citrons, figs, oranges, lemons, almonds, dates, honey, wax, and ſome ſilk, equal to that of Florence or Naples, are raiſed here; and the laſt article might, with ſome pains, and a ſufficient number of mulberry-trees, be cultivated to the higheſt advantage.

On the north ſide of the iſland are found abundance of wood and water. The cedar, cypreſs, and bay-tree, the wild-olive, maſtick, and ſavine, grow here ſpontaneouſly, as well as palms and pines, which ſhoot up to a prodigious height. In travelling from Oratavia to Gurachico, you paſs through a foreſt, which perfumes the air at a great diſtance with its odoriferous flavour; and theſe ſweet woods are ſo plenty, that of them are made all the wine-caſks and common utenſils. Beſides the tall ſtrait pine, there is another with a ſpreading top, like an Engliſh oak, which the natives call the *immortal tree*, for its durability, whether in the water or open air. This wood is red as Braſil wood, hard as ebony, but leſs unctuous than the other pine. The tree grows to ſo extraordinary a ſize, that the Spaniards confidently aſſert, that the boards cut out of one tree only covered the church Los Remedios in the city of Laguna, though it be eighty feet in length, and half as much in breadth; a figure probably meaning no more than ſtrongly to expreſs the incredible bulk of the immortal tree. But the moſt beautiful and extraordinary production of Teneriffe is the draco tree, which grows to an immenſe ſtature, all the branches clinging and entwining in pairs at the top, like the mandragora. Theſe branches, Scorey obſerves, greatly reſemble a man's arms in ſhape and ſmoothneſs; from the extremity of which grow leaves two feet in length, of the exact form of ſedges. The draco wood is of no value, as it is pithy, and applied to no other uſe but bee-hives. Towards the full-moon, it exſudes a gum of the colour of vermillion, which the Spaniards call ſangre de draco, more aſtringent and medicinal than the ſanguis draconis imported from India and other places; but whether ſince Scorey's time this tree has

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has been cultivated, and this drug raised to an article of commerce, is what we no where find; nor do the shops distinguish any particular kind of it by the name of Canary dragon's blood.

The language of the Guanches, says the same writer, has a great affinity to that spoke by the Moors of Barbary; and yet we are assured, that it bears no resemblance to the Arabic. It still is preserved in all its purity by the descendants of those Guanches inhabiting the town of Candelarin, which, in fact, is wholly composed of this people. Betancourt, who conquered this country, asserts, as we have seen, that they were all Pagans; notwithstanding which assertion, Scorey assures us, that they acknowleged a Supreme Being, whom they worshipped under the different names of Achuhurahan, Achuhucumar, and Achquaya-Rerax; expressing by these names the attributes of sublime, powerful, and the Author and Preserver of all things that exist. When they wanted rain, or had seasons otherwise unfavourable, they brought their sheep, lambs, and goats, to some place of worship, imagining, that, by their plaintive bleating, they would move into compassion the mind of the Deity; and, to set them a-bleating, they always separated the young from their dams. We have seen that they were not destitute of certain gross notions of a future state, from their placing the residence of the wretched in the volcano on the top of the peak; and Scorey farther assures us, that they had some idea of the devil, to whom they gave the name of Guayotta, intimating his malignant corrupt disposition; but he never observed that they were inclined to hold any communication with this evil spirit, or to pay him any kind of worship or adoration.

In civil affairs, they were not without certain laws and regulations. They had kings, whose sovereignty they acknowleged, and to whom they renewed their fealty upon marriage. The right of inheritance was adjusted to the exclusion of bastards; and the number of their laws was definite, and indeed small; but they obeyed them with that respect and veneration, which could not be paid to a multiplicity of ordinances, which always diminishes their weight and authority. The Guanches were sensible of this; and therefore lesser crimes were left to the provinces of religion and morality. Shame was the only punishment of slight offences, and that irksome feeling which ever accompanies the sense of doing wrong. Their monarchs had no other palaces than those nature had cut out of the rocks, shaped

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shaped, perhaps, by art, into some degree of convenience. The royal caves are to this day easily distinguished, by the number of apartments for the accommodation of the household.

For a long time, the island of Teneriffe was governed by one king, distinguished by the name of Adexe. In a course of years, the children of the monarch conspiring against him, divided the island among themselves into nine provinces, each governed by one of the brothers: hence proceeded the civil wars we have mentioned, which prevailed not only here, but in all the other islands, parcelled out in the same manner into petty royalties.

They had an established form of marriage, consisting in asking the consent of the maid or widow's parents, in a certain ceremonious way. This and the woman's were all that law or custom required, previous to consummation. Nor were they more scrupulous in repudiating them: to obtain a lawful divorce, nothing more was necessary than the dislike of the parties; but if they happened afterwards to agree, they might come together, with this proviso, that the children of the second union should be rendered illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting; a restriction that made parents more cautious of separating upon every disgust. Kings alone were exempted from this law; for they might repudiate and take back their queens, without prejudice to their younger children; nay, kings were even permitted to espouse their sisters. When a child was born, it was customary immediately to baptize him; and the form was to call in a neighbouring girl, who was to pour water over the infant's head, repeating at the same time some mysterious words; by this act the godmother became so closely allied to the family, that law prohibited her marrying into it.

Young men had certain appointed exercises to strengthen and invigorate them; such as throwing the dart, running, leaping, raising great weights, or throwing large stones; feats of strength in which they glory and delight to this day. Virtue, chastity, and the most punctilious honour with respect to the fair sex, were in so high repute, that it was an inviolable law, never known to be infringed, that all violences and affronts offered to women should be punished with death; and such was the natural virtue and simplicity of these Barbarians, that even the rudest soldiers and fiercest young people obeyed the dictates of their own reason, with more rigour than all the severity of the law could exact.

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The Guanches of Teneriffe, in particular, were well made, handsome, and robust; nay, in general, of a gigantic stature. There was, in Scorey's time, the skull of one of them to be seen in the sepulchre of the Guimar kings, which had eighty teeth, and the skeleton of the body measuring fifteen feet; but Scorey does not pretend that he had seen it; and it is probable it was little more than the tradition of the natives, who might have such tales of their ancestors as are common among the vulgar of all countries. We are the more confirmed in this opinion, because a sensible gentleman of the faculty, after residing twenty years in the island, had, with the utmost difficulty, access to the sepulchral caves. This is a favour scarce ever granted, and not attempted without leave, but at the risk of one's life. He obtained permission, and was even conducted to the tombs, in consequence of the esteem of the people, which he had gained by several services he had done for them in the way of his profession. The following story, which he relates, seems, however, to corroborate the testimony of Scorey. Several gentlemen being one day employed in hunting a rabbit, the little animal run into a cave, and was pursued by one of the company, who, upon entering in a hurry, was terrified with the sight of a corpse of a gigantic stature. His cries alarmed the company; but before their arrival, recollecting that it was a sepulchral cave of the Guanches, his fears were dissipated. He cut off a piece of skin from the breast of the body, which our author had seen, and affirms was softer, smoother, tougher, and more pliable, than the best prepared kid-skin; which was probably no other than the goat-skins in which they wrapped the embalmed bodies. One anonymous author relates, from the report of the modern Guanches, that, among their ancestors, this employment of embalming was confined to a certain tribe, and kept an inviolable secret from the vulgar. This tribe composed the priesthood, and never intermingled with the other tribes by marriage. After the conquest of the island, they were destroyed, and with them perished the art of embalming; of the ingredients used in which, tradition has only preserved a few. It is said they mixed goats butter and hog's lard, which they carefully kept in skins for this purpose. These they melted down with a kind of wild lavender, that grows in this island in abundance. Another herb called lara, of a glutinous and gummy nature, found now only in a few places; the cyclamen

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men (F); and, lastly, wild-sage; both which are produced in great plenty: these herbs, bruised and boiled with the butter, composed an odoriferous mixture. After having made the necessary preparations, the body was opened and embalmed; and, when cleared of the intestines, washed with a juice extracted from the pine, probably a sort of turpentine; after which it was set to dry in the sun, or before a slow fire. This operation of besmearing and anointing was frequently repeated, until the balm penetrated the most minute vessels, and the muscles became perfectly conspicuous. The body was supposed sufficiently prepared, when it became extremely light; upon which it was wrapped in goats-skins in the neatest manner possible, and with such art, that it is affirmed all the veins, arteries, and tendons, nay, even the features, could be distinguished through it, the body undergoing no other change, after being kept for centuries, than a slight discolouration of the skin. From this custom, it might be inferred, that the Guanches, or ancient inhabitants of the Canaries, and particularly of the island of Teneriffe, were either a colony of Ethiopians, or descended originally from the progenitors of that people. To render this curious article as complete as possible, without trespassing upon the bounds assigned us, we will beg leave to add a few more remarks from the ingenious Sir Edmund Scorey, to whom we have already been so frequently obliged. This gentleman informs us, that the ancient Guanches had embalmers publicly appointed for each sex, neither presuming ever to depart from their own province; a circumstance which reflects great honour on the delicacy of that rude people. He says, the composition they used was a mixture of goats-butter, the powder of certain plants, and their juices, boiled into a glutinous unguent, with which they mixed an extract from the pine-tree, and certain stones finely pulverized. The body was rubbed with this for fifteen successive days, and laid, after every unction, before the sun, or, in the winter, before a slow fire, till it became light, stiff, and dry; after which it was wrapped in goat-skin, and deposited in a cave, the relations and friends keeping all this time a continual plaintive mourning, which almost reduced them to the condition of the deceased they lamented e.

e Purchas's Pilgrims, lib. ii. cap 12. sect. 3. p. 787.

(F) The cyclamen is the *sow-bread* in botany; a genus of the pentandria monogynia class of plants.

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The same author relates, that the Guanches inhabiting the south side of the island were of an olive colour, while those on the north side were fair, especially the women, who had long, light, smooth hair. Their dress was a kind of short coat, made of goat or lamb-skin, without skirts or sleeves, and fastened with thongs, which served instead of seams and buttons. This dress, called tamarco, was the habit commonly worn by both sexes, only the women added, out of modesty, a kind of short petticoat of skins, that fell down below the knee before, and quite down to the ground behind. Some say, that it touched the ground on every side; that sex deeming it immodest to expose even their feet. Such is the garment in which they lived, died, and were buried; at least the common people were so, who could not afford the expence of the dressed skins used by richer persons in embalming.

A fruit called mezan, of the size of a pea, formed the whole of their physic in all diseases whatever, but especially in fluxes and the tabes dorsalis, to both which they were particularly subject. From this fruit they extracted a kind of honey, which they call chacarquem, much esteemed in external applications; after which the fruit was pounded and boiled down in water to the consistence of a syrup, which they took internally for the above diseases. In acute disorders they used phlebotomy at the arms, head, and forehead; performing that operation with a flint. It is probable our author here means the jugulars and carotides. What we have here related is, in general, applicable only to the Guanches of the island of Teneriffe, though many of the customs might have been common to all the ancient inhabitants of the Canaries.

The island of Teneriffe has three capital towns, namely, St. Christoval de la Laguna, or *St. Christopher's of the Lake*, Oratavia, and Santa Cruz. The first of these is by many writers styled the capital of the Canaries, and the seat of the viceroy. One part of the town stands on the declivity of a hill, the other on one side of that beautiful plain which Sir Edmund Scorey says was cut out by nature to add to the felicity of the inhabitants of Laguna. The houses are numerous and compact, but the streets, though wide and large, unhappily were laid out with very little regard to regularity; however, as they are embellished with some handsome public buildings, Laguna furnishes a very pleasing prospect from a distance. The most remarkable buildings are two parish-churches, the convents of St. Diego, St. Francis, St. Augustin, and St. Dominico,

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Dominico, an hospital, and two nunneries, some of which are pieces of excellent architecture. The houses of persons of condition have large gardens, and orchards of palm, citron, lemon, orange, and other fruit-trees adjoining to them; and the whole surrounding country abounds with vineyards. But what adds most to the ornament and conveniency of the city, is that fine plain lying near it, about ten miles in circumference, and so fertile, says Scorey, that nature seems to have intended to complete, by the fertility of this place, the beauty of the scene. On every side this delightful valley is hemmed and defended by mountains and hills, so covered with wood, that they bear the appearance of an eternal spring; one species of trees putting forth leaves while others are passed their bloom, stripped of their beauty, and discover the shrivelling hand of winter. The true malmsey wine is made in Teneriffe, and the grape reared near Laguna is said to be the best for this purpose of any the world produces. Here is also the wine called by the general name of Canary, and the verdona, or *green wine*; but these grow in greater perfection at Oratavia, the town we are going to describe.

Oratavia stands on the west side of the island, and being the chief sea-port, and the emporium of trade, the English merchants and consul reside here. Dampier alleges, on the authority of the natives, that this town is larger than Laguna, the capital; and that it has a great number of convents, but only one parochial church. Notwithstanding the harbour chiefly gives importance to Oratavia, the port is extremely dangerous when the north-west winds blow, to which it is fully exposed: however, mariners discover it by a high sea that rolls before the approach of the storm, and take the necessary measures for their security.

The third town of any consequence is Santa Cruz, situated in a bay on the west side of the island, defended by two forts and several batteries of heavy cannon, which could not prevent the heroic Blake's destroying sixteen Spanish galleons that lay here in 1657. This attempt was looked upon as the most hardy and intrepid that had been ever executed; it being then a thing unknown to attack a fleet protected by forts and batteries; though all the maritime states have often since given proofs of its being less hazardous than at that time it was imagined by the best sea-officers.

To conclude our account of Teneriffe, the Verdona wine produced here is strong-bodied, but more harsh and

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sharp than Canary. As it is but in little esteem in Europe, they export it chiefly to the West Indies, where it keeps well for a long time in the hottest climates. Besides Malmsey, Verdona, and the common Canary wine, Teneriffe island so abounds in all kinds of grain, wheat, maiz, and barley, that great quantities are shipped off to other countries; nor is it less prolific in quadrupeds and birds of all kinds. In a word, exclusive of some inconveniences from earthquakes and volcanos, the universe presents not a more delightful spot for contemplation, ease, and all the felicities of quiet life [f].

Gran-Canaria.

East-south-east, and about ten leagues distant from Teneriffe, stands the island of Gran Canaria or *Great Canary*, between 27 and 28 deg. of north latitude (G). It is twelve leagues in length, and nearly as much in breadth. Prevost calls this island the chief of the Canaries, without assigning any other reason than its name, and the residence of a bishop; from which last circumstance we may collect, that either this prelate has palaces in the different islands, or that all the larger ones are distinct sees. The truth we believe is, that though the viceroy, the bishop, and all the people of distinction live in Teneriffe, yet the island of Canary is a bishop's see, suffragran to the archbishop of Seville in Spain; for, besides this, there is here a court of inquisition, and the sovereign council of all the Canaries is held here occasionally. Nay more, in Nicolls's time it is certain, there was only one bishop of the Canary Islands; and no alteration in this particular is positively mentioned by any author. The capital of this island is called Palma; in Latin, Civitas Palmarum; in Spanish, Cividad das Palmas, a name by which it is specified in all the public acts and particular contracts, or procedures of justice, yet do some authors call it Canary. It stands on the north part of the island, at a small distance from the sea, and is celebrated for its temperate climate, extent, neatness, and other particulars. It is adorned with a

[f] Sprat's History of the Royal Society, p. 209. La Croix, p. 675, & seq. Prevost, tom. iii. liv. v. cap. 1. Purchas's Pilgrims, lib. xii. cap 7. p 788. Davity, tom. v. p. 610. Sanut. lib. iii. Linschot, cap. 97. Cadamost. apud Ramus. cap. 7.

(G) Some writers, and in particular Davity and La Croix, make the distance between these islands about fourteen leagues; but we have fixed upon the authority of Nicolls, who had long been an inhabitant of the Canaries.

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magnificent cathedral, several convents, and a number of elegant buildings, which render it little inferior to Laguna; and it is perhaps superior in point of police, all the principal men of wealth and credit acting in the capacity of civil magistrates.

The country is more level, and as fertile as Teneriffe, yet the soil is light and sandy, covered over by a coat of rich mould, about sixteen inches thick. Every year produces two crops of all kinds of vegetables, except fruits; the one in February, and the other in May, and both plentiful. Their flour-bread in this island is especially excellent, both in taste and colour; in which last it rivals snow itself. Sugar-canes are raised in such abundance, that there are no less than twelve sugar-works, each so large as to be mistaken by strangers for little towns; and the abundance of this commodity constitutes the principal wealth of the island, incredible quantities of coarse sugar being yearly exported. Le Maire specifies four convents of different orders; viz. the Franciscan, Dominican, Bernardine, and Cordelier houses, all of them rich and well built.

Fuerte Ventura.

The island of Fuerte, or Fuerte Ventura, stands about sixteen leagues north-north-east of Canary island, one end of it lying under the 28th, and the other extending almost to the 29th degree of north latitude, being about fifty miles in length, and variable in its breadth; in some parts ten leagues, in others no more than as many miles. The soil is in general fertile in corn, roots, and fruits, and beautifully diversified in hills and vallies, well watered and supplied with a variety of timber. This island produces, besides the other fruits common to the Canaries, a prodigious abundance of dates, mastick, and olives, with orchel for dyeing, and a species of fig-tree that yields a medicinal balm as white as milk; but the virtues of it are wholly unknown in Europe. An incredible quantity of goat-milk cheese is made in Fuerte Ventura, as may be easily conceived from that island's breeding upwards of fifty thousand kids every year. The flesh is fat, better coloured, and sweeter, than in any other country; each of them weighing between forty and fifty pounds. Dapper says, that here are three considerable sea-port towns, Langla, Tarafato, and Pozzo Negro, with two good roads besides for shipping, where they may ride secure against all storms. We find in Herbert, but in no other author, that this island was taken in 1596 by the English; but has, since

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that time, been better fortified. On the north coast of Fuerte Ventura, about a mile farther in the sea, it is that the little island of Gratiosa stands; with a particular account of which it would be unnecessary to trouble the reader.

Lancerota. The last island of the Canaries we shall describe is Lancerota, or Lanzerota, formerly Centuria, as we find it in all the ancient geographers. It lies under 29 deg. 30 min. north latitude, and 12 deg. 31 min. west longitude from London. In length it is thirteen leagues from north to south, nine in breadth, and about forty in compass, taking in the bays and creeks. It is parted by a ridge of mountains which afford nothing but pasture for cattle, though the vallies are fruitful, but sandy, and thin in the soil. It abounds in grain, fruits, horned cattle, hares, camels, and asses. In Nicolls's days it was the property of Don Augustin de Herrera; but ships crews had an appeal, in all judicial cases, to the viceroy of the Canaries. One great branch of the trade of Lancerota consists in dried goats flesh, which the inhabitants sell in great quantities to the neighbouring islands, under the name of tussineta.

To these seven great islands may be added the small ones of St. Clair, Gratiosa, Rocca, and Alegranza, situated at the north-east end of Lancerota; but they have nothing so peculiar as to merit a description. We shall therefore close these observations on the Canaries with remarking, that the natives of these islands enjoy a clear, serene, temperate air; for though they lie in a warm climate, they are so constantly refreshed with breezes from the sea, that the noon-day heats are very tolerable, and the mornings and evenings inexpressibly pleasant. They never feel pinching colds or scorching heats, nor do the poorest people know the want of cloathing, firing, fruits, or wine. In a word, if fields covered with the finest and richest verdure, hills with a variety of woods and fruits, great abundance of all the necessaries and conveniencies of living, and, in short, a scene the most rural, simple, and elegant, can render people happy, the inhabitants of the Canaries cannot fail of meriting the name given to them by the ancients, of Fortunate.

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SECT. VII.

Islands of Madeira and Porto Santo.

WE come, in the last place, to describe the islands of Madeira and Porto Santo, from the lame and defective materials furnished us from voyagers and geographers. *Madeira.*

Some imagine, that Madeira was known to the ancients by the names of Juno and Antetala; but it is probable the Portuguese were the first discoverers, unless there be truth in the following relation of Ovington. This gentleman says, that though the discovery is attributed by all Europeans to the Portuguese, yet there is a tradition among the natives, which gives the whole honour to the English. They affirm, that an English gentleman, who had married a lady of immense fortune, embarked at Bristol, in the year 1342, for France, and was driven by a storm to the island of Madeira, so called afterwards by the Spaniards, on account of the incredible quantity of trees and prodigious forests it produced. Here he landed, and finding it uninhabited, fell into melancholy and despondency, which soon put an end to his life; but the sailors ventured again to sea, and happily arrived on the coast of Barbary. There they met with a Portuguese squadron, to whom they related their adventure, and promised to conduct the admiral to the island they had quitted. Immediately notice was sent to the court of Lisbon, and the proposal appeared so advantageous, that instructions were given to an admiral, with whose name we are unacquainted, to go in search of the island; in which he succeeded, and, in the space of a few years, rendered it one of the most delightful spots in the universe. However, the most probable and best attested account is, that the Portuguese did not become acquainted with Madeira before the year 1431, when Don Henry first sent a colony thither, under the conduct of Tristan Tessora and Gonzales or Gonzalvo Zarco, who were nominated governors alternately, or, as others affirm, of different parts of the island. Upon this partition of power, it was divided into two provinces, Machico and Funchal: the new colonists immediately set to work in clearing the ground, and, for this purpose, set fire to the forests, which burnt with such violence, that the governor and people were forced to seek protection from the flames

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flames in the sea, in which they had almost perished, before they were taken up by a ship. So abundant was the fewel, and fierce the flames, that this fire continued, we are told, for near seven years; in consequence of which, the soil was so enriched by the wood-ashes, that, for a long time, it produced one hundred fold; though we are told, this increase is diminished to twenty-five times the quantity of grain sown, or sugar-canes planted (H). At first the colony consisted of no more than eight hundred souls: now, if we may credit Atkins, the island of Madeira can raise eighteen thousand able-bodied men; nor were they much inferior in strength in the year 1640, when, by that surprising revolution, Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke.

This island, Barbout is of opinion, is the Carne of the ancients, lying in 32 deg. of north latitude, and 17 of west longitude from London, seventy leagues north-west, or, according to some authors, north-east of Teneriffe,

(H) Atkins and Ovington both affirm, upon the testimony of the Spaniards and natives, that the ashes, and their salts, occasioned, for a while, an amazing fertility, particularly in sugar; but that a worm, which had crept in, to the destruction of the cane, obliged the Spaniards to convert their sugar-plantations into vintages, which proved equally advantageous, from the excellency of the grape.

The malmsey wine made here is, according to them, an admirable cordial; and the best vintages in this kind belonged to the Jesuits of Funchal. They gather their vintages in September and October, making every year no less than twenty thousand pipes. The same authors affirm, that Madeira produces only two kinds of grapes, the one brown, the other of a reddish colour, and from these are made two sorts of wine, one of which is called tinto, from its high colour. This, they say, is, in the opinion of some persons, actually coloured by certain ingredients, with which they fine it; but this the inhabitants constantly deny; and we shall see in the text four several distinct kinds of Madeira wine. Ovington adds, that so far has Madeira degenerated from its wonted fertility, that some years are so barren as to endanger a famine, the inhabitants being forced to rely for bread on the supplies brought by the shipping. This was the case in the year 1687, when he was on the island (1). Captain Uring goes farther, and affirms, that it seldom produces more grain than supplies the people for three months (2).

(1) Atkins, p. 23. (2) Ovington, p. 10. Uring's Voy. p. 10.

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and about an equal diſtance from Sallee in the kingdom of Fez.

Authors are generally divided about the extent of Madeira. Fryer affirms, that it is the largeſt iſland in the Atlantic Ocean; but we have reaſon to believe, that Teneriffe may diſpute this point with it. Moſt of the very modern geographers call it one hundred and forty leagues in circuit; but Cadamoſto, who ſeems to be nearer the truth, ſays it is no more than one hundred and thirty miles, while other voyagers reduce it to forty leagues. The climate is more temperate than the Canaries, and the ſoil more fertile in wine, ſugar, and fruits, but leſs ſo in corn, though infinitely better watered with ſprings and rivers, the number of which is infinite. As to cattle, birds, plants, and trees, they are nearly ſimilar: each produces the ſanguis draconis, maſtick, and other gums. The climate is indeed enchanting; for here is a perpetual ſpring, and flowers, bloſſoms, and fruit of various kinds, ſpring forth every month in the year, all in ſuch perfection as cannot be equalled in any other country; even onions, that ſtrongly pungent plant, are here ſo mild and ſweet, that they are eat raw like apples, and indeed preferred to them. Lemons grow to the ſize of pumpkins, and oranges are produced ſpontaneouſly of all ſorts and dimenſions; beſides all the European fruits, peaches, nectarines, melons, apricots, pears, apples, with a variety of others. In Madeira are made the fineſt ſweetmeats in the world, all kinds of fruits being here candied in the moſt exquiſite perfection. The inhabitants excel particularly in making citron and orange ſweetmeats, marmalade, and perfumed paſtes, preferable to the Italian, whatever faſhion and caprice may judge.

In the Madeiras, ſugar-works were firſt erected in the Weſt, of which it had an incredible number; and from thence they were removed to America; ſoon after which, the Portugueſe, finding the demand for their ſugars ſink, converted their cane-plantations into vineyards; which appears to be a better reaſon for this meaſure than that given by Ovington, of the poverty of the ſoil. The exports of wines, and the profits on them are immenſe, and produce a handſome revenue to the crown of Portugal. Theſe wines are of four different kinds, different both in taſte, colour, and ſtrength. The firſt is of the colour of champagne, in a ſmall quantity, and but little valued; the ſecond is called malmſey, and is rich and ſtrong; the third is a wine reſembling Alicant, or tent, and never drank

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drank unmixed; and the fourth, what is commonly drank in England, under the name of Madeira, of a pale red, not unlike fine small beer, but pleasant and wholesome. Of this last an amazing quantity is consumed in Great Britain and Ireland; but the greatest part of the Madeira wine is sent to the West Indies. One remarkable quality is observed in this wine, that it is greatly improved and refined by the heat of the sun, if the bung be taken out of the cask, which is the reason why we drink it in less perfection than in the East and West Indies.

Funchal is the capital of Madeira, situated on the south part of the island, with an indifferent harbour before it for shipping, fortified by a citadel, and furnished with stone-walls, besides other works which command the road. This town is computed to be a mile in length, and three quarters of a mile in breadth, populous, regular, and decorated with several fine buildings, a variety of churches, convents, chapels, and the governor's palace. Of all others, the Jesuits church merits particular notice, for its dimensions, elegance, and wealth; in which particulars it is excelled by few religious houses in Europe. The cielings are curiously painted and gilded, the altar richly adorned, the walls finely designed, and the whole plan equally beautiful and magnificent. Near this stands a large hospital for venereal patients, a disease so common in this country, that hardly any person escapes it; but the hospital is intended only for the conveniency of the poor. When Funchal was fortified, it would seem the engineer had nothing in view besides rendering it strong on the sea-side; for there all the works, except a single wall, are directed. This was certainly a great oversight, as there are several bays not far distant from the land-side, where an enemy might safely disembark, and march to the very walls, without opposition. The Portuguese, though numerous, do not constitute the bulk of the inhabitants; the English and French Roman catholics, who live in the Portuguese manner, are justly supposed to exceed the others in number and wealth. Besides these, there is an infinity of Mulatto and Negro freemen, whom the Portuguese treat with more respect than the most considerable English Protestant merchants, who are, as we shall have occasion to relate, hardly and impoliticly dealt with, from bigotted and ignorant superstition. The streets of Funchal are drawn by a line, all the houses neat, and the windows sashed with lath-work, but with openings wide enough for those within to see and be seen. Through these windows many

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many amorous dialogues are held between virgins and their gallants, in a ſpecies of dumb language, unintelligible to all beſides the votaries of the god of love. In this method of communicating the ſentiments of lovers by the fingers, the Spaniards and Portugueſe of Madeira are particularly expert. Even in this religiouſly bigotted country, churches are made the rendezvous of perſons inſpired with the tender paſſion, of men of buſineſs, and of thoſe who are either immerſed in pleaſure, or ſtrongly attached to intereſt. After divine ſervice, the houſe of God is converted into an exchange, or proſtituted to the purpoſes of luſt and profligacy: for here all ſorts of aſſignations are made; yet can nothing exceed the decency and gravity of their exterior deportment. The women, who have no domeſtic chapels, never attend divine ſervice but on Sundays and holidays; and if there be ſeveral females in a family, they walk in pairs before the mother, their faces covered with a long veil, but their necks and ſhoulders expoſed, as if they invited the notice of their gallants. On the one ſide walks an old man, armed with a ſword, dagger, and chaplet, or long ſtring of beads, intimating thereby his being the guardian of virgin honour: however, the young gentlemen are not deterred by this formidable eſcorte from approaching, ogling, and expreſſing their paſſion in a manner very witty and ingenious.

All the vices, and particularly luſt and incontinence, reign in an abſolute manner in Madeira, over all conditions of men; and the example of the males has encouraged the females to ſatisfy their deſires in a very impure and laſcivious way. The women never loſe an opportunity of gratifying their paſſions, and eſpecially with ſtrangers, without regard to his rank. Ovington attributes the prevalence of this evil to that extraordinary manner they have of marrying their children, without permitting them to ſee each other before, all matches being made here with an entire diſregard to every purpoſe but intereſt. As parents make up all family-connections without ever conſulting their children, it is highly probable that this may be one reaſon for the looſeneſs of unmarried women. All alliances with Jews, infidels, and Proteſtants, are rigidly prohibited; but love is too obſtinate a paſſion to be bent to the purpoſes of avarice and pride. The birth, indeed, of the woman is not ſo much regarded; but it is deemed infamous to marry a huſband of a different religion; and this ſevere reſtriction extends to all the Engliſh, with this difference, however, that, upon embracing the Popiſh religion,

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ligion, they are looked upon as worthy; whereas no change of principles can wash off the stain of Judaism and infidelity: yet there have been instances, where the power of wealth has overcome this objection, and set casuists upon explaining away that shame which would ever be attached to persons less rich and considerable. Ovington declares, that parents pay no regard to the chastity of the young persons whom they intend to connect by marriage; sobriety of morals and continency are, especially in a husband, the worst of all recommendations to the favour of a lady.

Funchal, we observed, is the residence of the governor; it is likewise so of a bishop and court of inquisition. It contains, says Atkins, six parishes, a number of chapels, six monasteries, three male, and as many female; but here the religious are not so straitly laced as at Lisbon, though the people are, if possible, more oppressed by the inquisition, the most diabolical of all tribunals. They are here permitted to visit, and to be visited by strangers, from whom they buy a variety of toys and conveniencies, by means of those heavy taxes laid on the consciences of the people. At present, the bishop of Madeira is suffagran to the see of Lisbon; but formerly Funchal was the residence of the archbishop of the East Indies [s].

Besides Funchal, the metropolis, there are several other considerable towns in Madeira; namely, Moncerito, Santa Cruz, and Manchico, which last, some writers affirm to be the same with Santa Cruz, and so called from a church of that name, dedicated to the Holy Cross. In the whole island are no less than thirty-six parishes, each having its proper church; and besides the religious houses at Funchal, there are dispersed over the island five monasteries, eighty-two hermitages, together with a great number of fine seats and castles.

As to the general manner of the natives, it is grave, sober, and temperate, but haughty and ostentatious. Even the richest Portuguese lay themselves under severe restrictions of sobriety, which they hardly ever break through; and drunkenness is a vice entirely unknown among the poorer sort. During the vintage, bread and dried raisins are the whole sustenance of the labourer, together with a little wine diluted with water; and, without this temperance, it would be impossible for them to escape fevers in hot weather: but long use and custom have now ren-

[s] Voy. de Wybous Van Warwick, vol. ii. p. 500.

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dered their sobriety constitutional. It is certain, that the excesses of venery, into which they launch, render their moderation in drinking the more necessary, and co-operates with the climate to keep the inhabitants of Madeira the most decent people of Africa in this particular. It is true that servants, provided with bottles in their hands, always attend the tables of the rich; but they pretend so exactly to judge of the sobriety of their masters, that they must be repeatedly desired to fill a glass before they present it. So far do the Portuguese carry their affectation, that none of them are ever seen to make water in public, not for the sake of decency, but to avoid the scandalous imputation of drunkenness. Nothing can be more absurd and ridiculous than the important and proud carriage of the meanest slave, equipped with his sword and poniard, and walking with the gravity and stiffness of a person attending a solemn procession. The very servants employed at table, or in the most servile occupation, never lay aside that long bar of cold iron, with which their thighs are decorated, as if they would compensate, by this mark of vain distinction, the real oppression and slavery under which they groan. Perhaps it is to this custom we may attribute the frequency of murder in Madeira. This horrid crime of duelling is become a badge of honour here; for, to gain the least token of a brave man, it is indispensably necessary that you have dipt your hands in the blood of your fellow-creature. What, indeed, confirms the Portuguese in this barbarous practice, is the protection afforded by the church to criminals; a detestable privilege, that reflects disgrace on the whole body of their clergy, and intimates their doctrine to be inconsistent with the laws of justice and humanity. Here the smallest chapel, and taking refuge in a consecrated place, will skreen the most notorious criminal from the law; and these are so numerous all all over the island, that no one need even undergo the punishment which law, reason, and the good of society require should be inflicted on murderers. Nay, we are told, that touching the altar, the corner of a church, or any thing that has been consecrated, will sufficiently protect a man in the practice of the worst of crimes; yet are the clergy no less strenuous in defence of this prerogative, than if the fundamental principle of their faith, the good of the church, and the interests of religion, depended upon it. The most rigorous punishment, therefore, of murder is banishment or imprisonment, both which the parties may buy off by presents to the clergy, who enjoy a

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sort of despotic power, which they have acquired in consequence of their number, wealth, and influence, over the minds of the ignorant people. It is amazing that so large a body of idle clergy can be maintained in such affluence by so small a number of laborious laics; but so it is, the poverty of the latter exactly tallies with the riches of the former; and as wealth ever implies power, the clergy have engrossed almost the whole prerogative of the island, the governor himself being little more than a cypher.

The inhabitants of Madeira always bury their catholic dead in their churches and consecrated grounds. The corpse is dressed out with great magnificence, but seldom inclosed in a coffin; on the contrary, they mix lime with the dust, the sooner to consume it; so different are their manners in this particular from those of the Guanches in the neighbouring islands. This mixture of burnt lime, and the warmth of the climate, have so sudden an effect, that we are told a grave may be opened in the space of fifteen days, by which time the body is wholly reduced to dust.

The bodies of hereties are forbid Christian burial, and regarded as the carcasses of brutes. Even the most considerable English protestant merchants are treated with the most ignominious contempt, and forced to throw their dead bodies, as if they were on ship-board, into the sea, unless they pay an extravagant price to the clergy for the liberty of breaking ground[b].

Marvellous Island of St. Borondon.

Some writers, and particularly Linschoten, in their description of the Canary Islands, mention, as something supernatural, a certain island, which they call St. Borondon, or Porondon, about a hundred leagues from Ferro, probably west, though no writer has pretended to lay down its exact position. Here, it is affirmed, several ships have touched by accident, and all agree in their relations of the state of the inhabitants and island. They affirm, that it is beautifully clothed with a great variety of wood, chiefly fruit-trees; that the vallies are in a perpetual state of verdure, and eternally decked with flowers, grass, and plants, the spontaneous productions of the earth, or with corn and pulse, cultivated with great care by the inhabitants; that the soil is so prolific as to raise large quantities of corn for exportation; and that the ships that call here

[b] Vide Gramay, lib. ix. Sanut. cap. 8, Davity, p. 621. Ovington, p. 10, & seq. Atkins, p. 23, & seq. Hackl. tom. iii. p. 578. La Croix, tom. iv. par. iv. p. 509. Prevost, tom. iii. liv. v. chap. 1.

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never fail of refreshments of every kind. They moreover add, that it is peopled by Christians, who have a language of their own, apparently combined of a variety of modern languages; for, say they, whoever understands the European tongues, may make shift to hold conversation with this people. It is remarkable, that no ships, expressly sent upon this discovery, were ever fortunate enough to fall in with the island of St. Borondon, though the Spaniards have made several attempts from the Canaries. Hence it has been called the Marvellous Island; and hence, indeed, we may conclude, that it exists only in imagination.

Porto Santo.

The island of Puerto Santo lies in the Atlantic ocean, opposite to Cape Cantin, in the kingdom of Morocco, and under 32 deg. 30 min. north latitude, and 5 deg. 29 min. west longitude from London. Some writers, and particularly Ortelius, are of opinion, that this, and not Madeira, is the Carne of Ptolemy, while others affirm it, instead of one of the Canaries, to be the Ombrio, or Pluvialia, of Pliny: but most probable it is, that Puerto Santo is the island called Palma by Ptolemy, as the latitude exactly corresponds with his position of it, and with no other. According to La Croix, and the relations of voyages given by Ramusio, this island was discovered several years before Madeira; and yet, what is strange, they make Gonzalvo Zarco the discoverer; and Ramusio relates the very same circumstances of the one voyage, which Alcaforado does of the other. Other writers again affirm, that it was not known before the year 1428; and indeed it is probable, that the discovery both of it and Madeira was still of later date. The Portuguese fleet fell in with this island by accident in a storm, and gave it this name on account of the protection it afforded them. It was then uninhabited; but has ever since continued peopled by the Portuguese, and in their possession. The island of Porto Santo is but small, not exceeding five leagues in compass, according to Cadamosto; though Sanutus makes it somewhat larger. It has good harbours, and only one bay, where ships may ride securely against all winds, except the south-west. It is in this bay that ships going or returning from India stop to refit and refresh, which is all the trade the inhabitants enjoy. The island produces wheat and corn in great abundance; also cows, wild-boars, and rabbits; the latter in incredible numbers. But its most valuable productions for export are dragon's blood, honey, wax, and fish. All the inha-

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bitants are bigotted Roman Catholics, under the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop of Madeira, and the civil power of the governor of that island. In a word, the people here enjoy enough of all the conveniences of life to be extremely happy, were they not frequently molested by the incursions and depredations of pirates, who frequently plunder the villages, and carry off the inhabitants [a].

SECT. VIII.

The Azores, Terceras, or Western Islands.

WE shall close this chapter with an account of the Azores, which some geographers describe as belonging to Africa, others to America, and some others, upon better grounds, to Europe. However, as they lie in the same sea with these we have been just describing, we think this the most convenient part for them, especially as it is a disputed point to which of the above three quarters of the globe they belong. Robbe ranks the Azores among the African islands; De Lisle, among the American, as being nearer that continent; and most of our English geographers, for the same reason, among those of Europe. These islands had the name of Azores, or Azoras, from several flights of hawks which appeared to the first discoverers; they are also called Terceras, from one of them which goes by that name, and though not the largest, is yet the chief and most considerable.

The Azores, Terceras, or *Western Isles*, are seven in number; namely, St. Michael, St. Maria, Tercera, Gratiosa, St. George, Pico, and Fayal, besides those of Flores and Corvo, which are now included among them, as they are under the same government, and but seventy leagues distant to the westward. Formerly they were called the Flemish Islands, because they were supposed to have been discovered by a Flemish merchant, a native of Bruges, who, in his voyage to Lisbon, anno 1445, or as others think, in 1449, was driven so far to the west by a storm, as to fall in with the Azores, which he found uninhabited. Upon his arrival at Lisbon, he gave such hints, in relating his adventure, as were sufficient to engage that then enterprising court in a farther discovery, which succeeded to

[a] Davity, tom. v. p. 621. La Croix, p. 707. etiam auct. supra citat. ibid.

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their wish. Antonio Gonzalo, in his History of the Discoverers of the World, says, that the great Don Henry, prince of Portugal, thought this so considerable an acquisition to the former discoveries he had made, that he went in person to take possession of the Azores, in 1449. Davity affirms, that the Flemish merchants, on the part of their countryman, sent a colony thither, which settled in Fayal, where their descendants continue to this day. In proof of this assertion, it is urged, that a river in this island is called by the Portuguese, Rio or Ribera dos Flamingos. All the others are undoubtedly inhabited by the Portuguese, under a governor of that nation, residing at Angra, the capital of Tercera, and indeed of all the Azores. In spirituals, they are under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the Azores, whose capital residence is at Punta Deglada, in the island of St. Michael.

In the year 1457, the inhabitants had a grant from Alphonso V. exempting their trade from all duties to any of the ports of Spain and Portugal; and several other immunities and privileges were granted to this favourite colony. They lie between the 36th and 40th deg. of north latitude, and between the 23d and 32d deg. of west longitude, about three hundred leagues to the westward of Portugal, nearly the same distance to the eastward of Newfoundland, and not much exceeding it to the north-west of the island of Madeira, or the African side of the Streights of Gibraltar. Ortelius has given a map of them from Texeira, the king of Spain's geographer, acquainting us at the same time, that, as soon as the ships bound from Europe to America touch here, they are immediately freed from all the vermin that before infested them; no species of noxious or poisonous animals being able to live above a few hours in the Azores.

Besides the Azores, including Flores and Corvo, there are several smaller islands to the north-west, which merit no particular description; one only excepted, which Kircher affirms, emerged all of a sudden out of the sea, at a place where fishermen used to sound a hundred and twenty feet water. At first this island appeared in form of a group of rocks, filling up a space of five or six acres of ground; but afterwards enlarged to as many miles in extent. This event was preceded by horrible earthquakes for near eight days; after which a violent fire broke out through the surface of the sea, flaming up to the clouds, and vomiting out prodigious quantities of sand, earth, stones, and minerals, appearing at a distance like large

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fleeces of wool, and falling down again to the surface of the water, upon which they swam in a concrete form. This was followed by the emersion of the rocks we have mentioned, and by some others of greater height, which were broke in pieces by another shock of an earthquake, and then united into one solid mass, with the scum swimming on the top of the water. Such is the account of Kircher, which we will not attempt to defend, though that might possibly be done by well attested similar instances; particularly of an island in the Archipelago, mentioned by Santorino, and some other writers of unquestioned veracity.

The Terceras, or Azores Islands, are discovered a great way at sea, thirty leagues, says Frezier, by a high mountain called the pico, or peak, of the Azores, of a conical form, like the peak of Teneriffe. All writers allow, that the Azores enjoy a clear serene sky, and wholsome pleasant climate; and that they are fertile in corn, wine, fruits, and quadrupeds, both wild and tame. Their greatest inconvenience is their being subject, like the Canaries, to violent earthquakes, as well as to the fury of the surrounding waves, which frequently do an incredible deal of mischief to the inhabitants, by overflowing the low grounds, and sweeping off whole fields of grain and folds of cattle, breaking down their fences and overturning their houses.

St. Michael. The first island in order is St. Michael, or, as the Portuguese call it, San Miguel, it being the most eastern and largest, computed above twenty leagues in length. St. Michael has several considerable towns and villages, extremely populous, and driving a large commerce in corn, wine, and cattle; but the harbours are bad and dangerous for shipping. It stands about eight leagues south-east of Tercera, and abounds with arable and pasture ground; though these advantages are more than compensated by the constant terror in which the inhabitants live, every moment expecting earthquakes and volcanos that will swallow them up. This is a misfortune to which St. Michael is more liable, and oftener exposed, than any other of the Azores islands. Kircher gives an account of a dreadful earthquake which happened here on the 26th of June, 1638, that continued for eight days, without intermission, and so terribly shook the island, especially the canton of Vargen, that the people abandoned their houses in the utmost terror and perturbation, living all the

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the while in the open fields. At this time the new island we have mentioned was formed; and had not Providence directed the wind to blow on the contrary side, this island of St. Michael must inevitably have been destroyed by those showers of liquid stones and minerals thrown up into the air, while the irruption continued. The chief town of St. Michael is Punta del Gada, rendered considerable by its commerce, its strong castle, in which the Portuguese keep a constant garrison, and by the residence of the primate of the Azores.

Next stands the island of Santa Maria, about twelve leagues to the southward of St. Michael, and said to be twelve leagues in compass. It has a strong natural rampart of high mountains and steep rocks, with which it is quite surrounded, in a manner so connected, close, and regular, as requires not the assistance of art, nor of castles, garrisons, fences, and fortifications. The interior parts are fertile, populous, and well-cultivated, supplying all the conveniences of life in great abundance. Santa Maria la Prainha is the chief town; besides which the island has the towns of Bodes, Castillo, and a number of villages, which we need not describe. What merits attention, as it constitutes a great part of the commerce of the island, is an ingenious porcelain manufacture, in which china-ware is happily imitated, and this commodity brought to a high degree of perfection. *Santa Maria.*

Tercera is the next island in order, and is supposed to have derived its name from its standing the third in this cluster of islands, in point of situation, though the first in dignity, as appears from a number of circumstances, and particularly from its communicating its name to the rest. This island lies about twenty-eight leagues from the two former, and is computed to be sixteen, and by Labat twenty-one, leagues in circumference. Its figure is almost circular, its coasts high, and so surrounded with craggy rocks, that it is deemed impregnable, every accessible part on the coast being defended by strong forts, heavy cannon, and a numerous and regular garrison. Whether it was so in queen Elizabeth's time, when the earls of Cumberland and Essex made a successful descent on these islands, we are not informed. The only tolerable port in the whole island is the harbour of Angra, the capital; a port that is equally secure against storms and an enemy, it being in form of a crescent, the extremities of *Tercera.*

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which are defended by two high rocks, that run so far into the sea as to render the entrance narrow, and easily covered by the batteries on each side. The island is high, and distinguished at sea on the south-east by a point of low land that projects eastward, and by a cape on the west side, formed by a point of land, on which are two high hills; lastly, by two small islands, perpendicular, about a league to the eastward of the above cape, called Ilhios. Half a league south-south-east from these are three breakers, even with the surface of the water, but all of them, according to Frezier, misplaced in the Flambeau de la Mere, and most other charts.

This island of Tercera is fertile, pleasant, and healthy; the very rocks, which elsewhere are dry and barren, produce here excellent vines, though not equal to those raised in the Canaries and Madeira. The land yields large crops of wheat and other grain, pasture for cattle, and a prodigious variety of lemons, oranges, and all those fruits peculiar to cold and hot climates, which are observed to be propagated to the greatest advantage in temperate countries, and between the parallels of 25 and 35 north or south of the equinoctial. Indeed, all the above commodities are produced in such perfection and plenty, that Tercera wants none of the necessaries of life besides oil and salt; and why olives may not be raised, and sea-salt made, we are at a loss to conjecture. Perhaps the inhabitants find it necessary to take these from some other countries with which they trade, and therefore neglect cultivating them. In Tercera grow two extraordinary roots, the one called batata, weighing near a pound, affording excellent wholesome food for the peasants, though it be neglected by persons of fashion, for no other reason than because it is plentiful, and used by the vulgar; the other is described about the size of a cocoa-nut, covered all over with fine long fibres of a gold colour, almost equal to silk in softness and fineness, capable of being manufactured into stuffs, but used only instead of feathers in stuffing beds. This root has no name in authors, though it is probable that the natives distinguish it by some appellation. It is remarkable of the Tercera oats, that they will not keep a year without germinating, unless preserved by art. Even wheat requires to be kept close from the air, and buried in caverns cut in rocks, or dry sandy ground well covered with a stone. These are the granaries of the inhabitants, from whence they fetch the

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the grain, as the neceſſities of the family may require. The oxen bred in Tercera grow to a monſtrous ſize, with ſpreading horns of very extraordinary dimenſions; yet they are ſo tame and gentle, that, when feeding in herds, every one will come to his maſter as ſoon as called, it being cuſtomary there to give them all certain names. The roads all over the iſland are rugged and difficult, on account of the woods, mountains, and craggy rocks, which occur within every half mile, and the ground under-foot reſounds as if it were all hollow beneath, which it probably is. Some crevices there are which emit a ſulphureous ſteam, and others that throw up ſprings of water ſo hot as to boil an egg in a few minutes; whence we may eaſily account for Tercera's being ſo ſubject to earthquakes. Within three leagues of the capital is another ſpring of a petrifying quality, in which wood, roots, and other vegetable ſubſtances, are ſoon turned into ſtone as hard as flint; and on the brim of the fountain grow large trees, whoſe roots are hard as ſteel, while vegetation goes on, and the reſt of the tree continues of the uſual conſiſtence of wood. This iſland produces ſome excellent timber, particularly cedar, which grows to a very great height and thickneſs; it is even in ſuch plenty, that their common carts, waggons, and utenſils of all kinds, are made of it.

Here ſtands the city of Angra, the metropolis not only of Tercera, but of all the Azores Iſlands, and the reſidence of the governor. It is ſeated on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, about the middle way of the longeſt diameter, on the edge of the ſea, and at the bottom of the harbour we have deſcribed, formed by a point of land called Monte de Brazil. The town is well built and populous, and is an epiſcopal ſee, under the juriſdiction of the archbiſhop of Liſbon. It hath five pariſhes, a cathedral, four monaſteries, as many nunneries, beſides an inquiſition and a biſhop's court, which extends its juriſdiction over all the Azores, Flores, and Corvo. Angra is ſurrounded by a good wall and dry ditch, of great depth and breadth, and defended by a ſtrong caſtle, rendered famous by the impriſonment of king Alphonſo by his brother Peter, in the year 1668. We are told that the town derives its name from Angra, a creek, bay, or ſtation for ſhipping; this bay being the only convenient harbour in all the Azores. For this reaſon chiefly it is that the Portugueſe have ſo carefully ſecured and fortified theſe iſlands; their ſituation, and particularly of this bay, being ſo commodious

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for the refreshment of their Brazil flota and East India squadrons. This port, which opens from the east to the south-west, is not above four cables length in breadth, and not two of good bottom, according to Frezier. However, ships may ride in great safety here during fair summer weather, because then only gentle winds breathe from the west to north-north-west; but as soon as the winter begins, the storms are so furious, that the only safety for shipping is putting with all possible expedition to sea. Happily these storms are preceded by infallible tokens, with which long experience has made the inhabitants perfectly acquainted. On these occasions the pico, or peak is overcast with clouds, and grows exceedingly dark; but what they repute the most certain criterion is the fluttering and chirping of flocks of birds round the city, for some days before.

At Angra are kept the royal magazines for anchors, cables, sails, and all sorts of stores, for the royal navy, or occasionally for merchantment in great distress. All maritime affairs are under the inspection of a certain officer, called desambargador, who hath subordinate officers and pilots for conducting ships into the harbour, or to proper watering places. The English, French and Dutch have each a consul residing here, though their commerce with this or any of the Azores Islands be but inconsiderable. Most of the public and private buildings have a handsome exterior appearance, but very indifferently furnished within; but their poverty in this particular the Portugueſe artfully clothe under pretence of the inconvenience of warm furniture in so hot a climate. Glazing in their windows, carpets, silk, or paper-hangings, and all such ornaments, would render their houses, they say, intolerably warm; but the truth is, the poverty of the inhabitants renders it impossible for them to acquire any furniture that is elegant, and their pride makes them despise what is mean.

Besides Angra there are several other towns and large villages in Tercera, with a number of forts and garrisons, under the direction of the governor, who has the power of filling up all vacancies that happen among the military officers. The only town, however, that deserves to be mentioned is Ricya, which is a place of trade, and has the second best harbour in the Azores. It is well peopled, hath a large parochial church, two monasteries, two nunneries, and was a flourishing town, before the earthquakes in May and September, 1614, almost totally destroyed it; a blow which it has never since recovered. In the whole

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whole iſland of Tercera the inhabitants are computed at twenty thouſand ſouls; the men and women living much in the ſame manner as native Portugueſe and Spaniards, ſubject to the ſame paſſions of jealouſy and revenge, and having all the other characteriſtics of the mother-country, rather heightened than diminiſhed.

Gratioſa iſland lies the moſt northern of all the Azores, diſtant about eight leagues from Tercera, and taking its name from its beauty and fertility. It does not exceed five or ſix leagues in compaſs; but is as fruitful in corn, fruits, paſture, and cattle, as it is poſſible for ſo ſmall a ſpot, ſupplying Tercera, and ſeveral of the other iſlands, with a great part of its produce. It is well peopled, hath a number of villages, caſtles, forts, and works, for the ſecurity of the coaſt; but no cities or towns. *Gratioſa.*

The fifth iſland is St. George, which hath nothing remarkable beſides a great number of lofty and full grown cedars, with which the natives drive a conſiderable trade. It is beſides tolerably fertile in corn, and the other neceſſaries of life; but ſo ſmall as to merit no particular deſcription in this work. *St. George.*

We come now to the iſland of Pico, ſo called from ſome lofty mountains on it, or rather from one very high mountain terminating, like Teneriffe, in a peak, and reputed by ſome writers equal to it in height. This iſland lies about four leagues ſouth-weſt from St. George, twelve from Tercera, and about three leagues ſouth-eaſt of Fayal. The mountain Pico, which gives name to the iſland, is filled with diſmal dark caverns or volcanos, which frequently vomit out flames, ſmoke, and aſhes, to a great diſtance. At the foot of this mountain, towards the eaſt, is a ſpring of freſh water, generally cold, but ſometimes ſo heated with the ſubterraneous fire, as to ruſh forth in torrents, with a kind of ebullition like boiling water, equalling that in heat, and ſending forth a ſteam of ſulphureous fetid vapours, liquefied ſtones, minerals, and flakes of earth all on fire, in ſuch quantities, and with ſuch a violence, as to have formed a kind of promontory, vulgarly called Myſterios, on the declivity of the coaſt, and at the diſtance of one thouſand two hundred paces from the fountain. Such at leaſt is the account of Ortelius, though we do not find this laſt circumſtance of the promontory confirmed by later obſervations. *Pico.*

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vations. The circumference of Pico is computed at about fifteen leagues; and its most remarkable places are Pico, Lagoas, Santa Cruce, or Cruz, San Sebastian, Pesquin, San Rocko, Playa, and Magdalena, the inhabitants of which live wholly on the produce of the island, in great plenty and felicity. The cattle are various, numerous, and excellent in their several kinds; it is the same with the vine, and its juice, prepared into different wines, the best in the Azores. Besides cedar and other timber, they have a kind of wood which they call teixo, solid and hard as iron, and veined, when finely polished, like a rich scarlet tabby, which colour it has in great perfection. The longer it is kept, the more beautiful it grows; hence it is, that the teixo tree is felled only for the king's use, or by his order, and is prohibited from being exported as a common article of trade.

The last of the islands, properly called Azores, is Fayal, and the most considerable of the whole next to Tercera and Saint Michael. This island takes its name from the great abundance of beech-trees it produceth; besides which, it hath a variety of other wood in such plenty, that the English frequent it chiefly on that account. It also produces large folds of cattle, flocks of birds, and shoals of fish, with which every part of its coast is well stocked. The chief port is before the town of Orta, defended by an old castle, some cannon, and a slight Portuguese garrison. Orta is indeed the only town on the island, and a place of but little consideration. As for the other names we meet with in geographers, they are not those of towns, or even villages, but of mean hamlets, which have been passed by pompous names for places of some consequence. We have observed, that this island is peopled by Flemings, who imagining the Portuguese garrison to be a kind of oppressive tax upon them, petitioned his catholic majesty for leave to take upon themselves the defence of the island. Their request was granted, and the event almost fatal; for the English, at different times, under the earls of Cumberland and Essex, made descents on Fayal, took it, and destroyed the fortifications, after having taken and burnt a squadron of rich homeward-bound ships that lay in the harbour. This disaster induced the king to resume the defence of the island; since which time a Portuguese garrison has constantly been maintained here. Fayal is the most western of the Azores.

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As to the islands of Flores and Corvo, they are improperly included under that name, as they lie seventy leagues west of Tercera.

The first of these, or the Ilha des Flores, as the Portugueſe call it, takes its name from the great variety of beautiful flowers with which it is covered. Its dimensions are about seven leagues in compass, every part of which is clothed with wood, grain, pasture, or some other production useful to life. It is populous, and the inhabitants live happily upon their grain, cattle, and fruits. *Flores.*

About a league to the south of Flores stands the island of Corvo, so called from the incredible flights of crows seen in it by the first discoverers, every tree or rock in the island being covered with their nests. It abounds in much the same productions as the preceding island; but neither of them are considerable enough to merit a particular account; and the only reason why the Portugueſe keep possession of them, is to prevent other nations from establishing such settlements here, as, by their contiguity, might endanger the security of the Azores, by taking every favourable occasion that might offer for seizing upon the Canaries, so important to their Brazil commerce [1]. *Corvo.*

[1] Davity, Sanut. Linschot. Dapper, Barbot, Cadamosto, La Croix, cum multis aliis, in loc. citat.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XLIII.

The History of Abyssinia, or Upper Ethiopia.

SECT. I.

Giving an Account of the principal modern Authors, quoted through the Course of this Chapter, and of sundry Stratagems made use of to open a Commerce with that Empire.

WE have already given in our Ancient History the best account we could compile of this vast empire, its limits, inhabitants, and cities, as far as they were known to the ancient writers, and the records they have left us of them would allow; and if the greater part of what not only they, but others of a more modern date, have written of it, be either too fabulous or uncertain, either with regard to its true situation, extent, and boundaries, as well as with relation to its nature, climate, &c. it must be chiefly ascribed to that erroneous notion, which reigned so long among historians and geographers, that all the countries that lay so near the equinoctial line, were, for the most part, waste and uninhabitable; and to the same cause we must attribute that so much less hath been written of it than of many others, and that what we meet with concerning it, before the Portuguese found means to introduce themselves into it, appears at the best uncouth and unsatisfactory; so that is entirely to the discoveries which these have been enabled to make by their abode in those parts, that we are obliged for that more perfect knowlege we have of them: perfect only, we mean, in comparison of what we had before they published their accounts of this great empire; though still vastly short of perfection and certainty. Those good fathers, Jesuits and others, who were sent missionaries thither, to reduce the Abyssinian church to the obedience of the see of Rome, had their hearts and minds too full of this one important point, to find leisure for lesser discoveries; which being of such a nature as would rather excite the jealousy than admiration of that rude and ignorant people, they thought might be more fitly postponed till the main end of their mission was once gained; after which they might, with more

Abyssinia little known to the ancients and moderns till frequented by the Portuguese.

Why so great difference still in their accounts of it.

Their over-zeal to convert the natives occasions their expulsion.

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more pleasure and safety, attend to the other less momentous branches of it. The misfortune was, that their untimely zeal brought such a dreadful and general persecution upon them, as hath at once quashed all the hopes and prospect of regaining either; not only the missionaries of all denominations, but the very names of Portuguese and Franks, by which they called the Europeans, are become detestable to the whole Abyssinian nation [a].

All parts of it become inaccessible to the Europeans.

What occasioned this sudden and surprising change, after the Portuguese had been so kindly invited thither by one of their empresses, and had done her and some of her successors signal services, for which they were raised to the highest degree of esteem and confidence in the Abyssinian court, will be best seen in the course of this history: at present, it will be sufficient to say, that all access to any part of that kingdom is, since their expulsion, become to the last degree dangerous, and in some measure impracticable, to all Europeans, in any disguise, or under any pretence whatsoever. All the passes to it are guarded with the utmost diligence; and no sooner doth a stranger offer himself at any of their frontiers, but he is immediately examined from head to foot, to see whether he carries any arms, letters, books, writings, or any other thing that is liable to suspicion: his skin, hair, complexion, and shape, are scrupulously scrutinized, and especially whether he carries with him the scar of circumcision.

The observations of the Portuguese made with precipitation.

Upon the whole, whoever compares the observations of those missionaries, will find them so different and imperfect, that he will have reason to conclude they were made in haste, and without that accuracy which we observe them to use in all other countries, where they make a longer residence, and have better means and instruments for such a work. Whoever reads those who seem to have taken the most pains to review their observations, and reconcile them to each other, such as father Tellez, Ludolph, and others of equal capacity, will find still variance enough amongst them to make us wish for, what we are not likely to see in haste, a more accurate survey of the country. To give an instance or two of this remarkable difference, we need but compare the situation of the town of Giesim, which was reckoned the mid-way between the town of Sennaar and the confines of Ethiopia, as fixed by father Brevedent's own observations, who is allowed to have been an excellent astronomer, and one

Material difference between them.

[a] Tellez, Poncet, Ludolph, Maillet, & al. plur.

who

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who accompanied the physician Poncet into Ethiopia, but died in the way thither, and places that town in the 10th degree of north latitude [b]; and the situation which father Tellez, and Mr. Ludolph after him, give it in their map of this empire, and we shall plainly see that one of them must be greatly out; and yet Brevedent took his observation upon the spot. Another proof how little Tellez's map is to be depended upon, is the situation which another Portuguese Jesuit assigns, from his own observations likewise, to the kingdom of Dembea; which is such, according to him [c], that both the poles are visible, and that the antartic appears the higher of the two; which is the very reverse of what Tellez and Ludolph's maps represent it.

Why its limits so far extended by old geographers.

We need not therefore wonder if some of the writers of the African part of the world, particularly some of our Atlasses [d], have extended the limits of this empire so far beyond its due bounds; to say nothing of those of older date, who have stretched its southern limits so vastly beyond the equinoctial line; though they are found to come so short of it by the common consent of all our modern geographers. They were altogether in the dark about the countries that lay beyond it on that side; and had no other way to supply that great chasm of six hundred leagues, than by bringing all that vast tract within the limits of it, and bestowing upon its emperors, all that immense territory which they knew not how to dispose of otherwise. Thus they have stretched it from 22° north, to 16 or 17 south, and given it an extent of 39 or 40 degrees; which is above twenty-one more than it really hath, as we shall shew very soon from the more authentic testimonies, and more accurate observations, of those Portuguese fathers, whose long residence and acquaintance with these parts, have enabled them to give us a more satisfactory knowlege of them; of whom, therefore, it will not be improper to give some previous account, before we proceed farther, and by way of introduction to the following history.

The Portuguese invited into Abyssinia by the empress Helena.

The empress Helena, grandmother to the emperor David, having received a kind of congratulatory embassy from Emanuel king of Portugal, was so highly pleased with it, that she resolved to send the like to him, with a

[b] See Poncet's Voyage to Ethiopia, p. 33. [c] Fernandez ap. Codign. lib. i. cap. 11. p. 69. [d] Vide inter al. Mercator, Johnson, and De Lisle.

view

view of entering into a strict friendship and alliance with him. She made choice of one Mathew, an Armenian merchant, who safely arrived at Lisbon in that quality; and having performed the purport of his commission, returned to Abyssinia by the way of Goa, in the Portuguese fleet, accompanied by a fresh ambassador from the Portuguese court. This was a man of quality, named Galvam, who in his return to Abyssinia died at Camaran, an island in the Red Sea; so that the Portuguese vessels which had carried him thither, were obliged to sail back to Goa. However, the matter was thought of such importance, that a new ambassador was sent thither some years after, namely, Roderigo de Lima; who, after a tedious voyage, landed at length at Massowa, near Arkiko; which places, as well as the island of Sowakem, did then belong to the Abyssinians, though since taken from them by the Turks, who have kept possession of them ever since. Roderigo had with him one of the king's domestic chaplains, named Francisco Alvarez, a person of no extraordinary learning, but yet a man of sound judgment and great integrity, who was appointed almoner of this embassy; and it is to him that we are beholden for that plain and honest description of this empire, the first of the kind that ever was published, which he printed, together with a relation of his voyage, at Lisbon, an. 1540. It hath been often reprinted, and translated into other languages, particularly into English; though this last is rather an abridgment of Alvarez, and is only to be met with in Purchas's Collection. The next that wrote of the Abyssinian affairs, was father Bermudes, who went likewise into Abyssinia with don Roderigo de Lima, and in the character of patriarch, but openly only as an attendant on him, and under the name of master John, for fear of awakening the jealousy of the Abyssinian clergy. What he hath written concerning this country, is chiefly what happened to the Portuguese general, Christopher de Gama, his victories, defeat, and death. His account, which is dedicated to don Sebastian, king of Portugal, and appeared in print an. 1565, is so filled with fabulous stuff, that father Tellez tells us, in his general history of Abyssinia[d], he is only to be credited in those things which he affirms to have seen, but not in that which he had only by common report.

Embassies between king Emanuel and her frustrated.

A.D. 1540.

Alvares writes the first history of Abyssinia.

Father Bermudes writes the next.

The next to him is the celebrated father Peter Pais, the first European who went to view the head of the Nile,

Father Peter Pais writes next.

[d] Alvares, Bermudes, Tellez, Ludolph, et al. Hist. Abyssin.

and

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and who resided in Abyssinia, a considerable time in quality of a missionary, and died there an. 1622. His manuscript was sent thence to Rome, where it is still preserved, and reaches from the year 1556 to that of his death. He was succeeded by another of his society, father Emanuel D'Almeyda, rector, or superior, of the convent of Fromona, which the Jesuits had been permitted to build; a man who had not only resided there a considerable time, but who had taken indefatigable pains to travel through most part of the empire, and from whom we have the most complete account of the inland provinces and kingdoms that are subject to it, and of all the monstrous high ridges of mountains that run through the far greater part of them[e], and in comparison of which, the Alps, Apennines, and Pyrenees, are but mole hills for height; some of the most considerable of which we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. The next to him in rank and time was father Alphonso Mendez, who was constituted patriarch of Ethiopia by the pope, and wrote the history of it in Latin, after having resided there ten years.

Father Emanuel Almeyda travels through the inland parts of the empire.

The last we shall mention is father Lobo, who likewise resided there nine years, and the greater part of that time in quality of rector of the college of Fromona above mentioned, whose description of that empire, and history of his travels, though simple and succinct, give us a more lively idea of all the places he hath been at, than any other before him; and especially as, if we may believe father Balthazar Tellez, he travelled above thirty-eight thousand miles in this empire; insomuch that he scruples not to apply to him that verse of Virgil;

Father Lobo resides there nine years, and writes an account of it.

" Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit."

His history hath been since translated into French, and enriched with sundry curious dissertations, and other anecdotes, by Mr. Le Grand, and printed at Paris, anno 1738. From the above mentioned relations, and the annual letters which were sent by the Abyssinian missionaries to the college of Jesuits at Lisbon, it was, that father Balthazar Tellez wrote his more comprehensive history of Abyssinia; in the compiling of which work, he had the advantage of consulting all that had been printed and written by the aforesaid authors, as he engaged in it at the desire of the whole society; and it is perhaps this very

From these father Tellez compiles his general history.

[e] Tellez, Le Grand preface to Lobo.

motive

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motive that hath inclined him to some partiality for that order. In other cases, where the credit of his society, and the interest of the Romish church and court, is not concerned, he hath judiciously and candidly followed his authors, and from them compiled by far the best and fullest history of that empire we have extant; and it is from him that even Mr. Ludolph hath been beholden for the greatest part of his history; though he takes all opportunities to contradict him, and those of his fraternity. Father Tellez published the work above mentioned in the Portuguese language, anno 1660.

Poncet, a French physician, writes an account of it.

Among the French, we have Poncet, a physician, who was sent by the French consul at Kairo into Abyssinia, to cure the emperor of some stubborn disease, in the year 1698, and hath wrote a pretty succinct account of what he saw in those parts of the country through which he travelled, and of what he learned from the inhabitants he conversed with, concerning the religion, laws, and customs of the Abyssinians; but as he went through but a small part of the country, and was obliged to keep himself incog. during his short stay there, of scarce one year, it was not possible for him to give us more than a concise and imperfect description of so vast an empire. Besides, this gentleman had since the misfortune, whether through any thing that dropped from his pen in his aforesaid relation, or some imprudent steps he took after his return to Kairo, to disoblige the whole society of missionaries to such a degree, that they have left no stone unturned to blacken his character, and that of his book. They have decried him as a vile cheat, quack, mountebank, impostor, and a man capable of every kind of baseness; they have even ventured to affirm that he never was at the Abyssinian court, and that what he says of it, and of his reception and success there, is mere forgery. Lastly, to complete his character, they make him forsake his lawful wife, whom he had married in Ethiopia, to go and seek his fortune in the kingdom of Yemen, in spite of all his oaths and imprecations to return to Prester John, to rob him of the physical chest, which that prince had caused to be made at his own and the public charges, and to pass from Yemen to Surat, and thence to Hispahan, where he died like a rogue and vagabond, as he had lived [f]. These are the invidious colours in which they have had the boldness to draw a man, who, by his long residence and

Why blackened by the Jesuit writers.

His character vindicated.

[f] Poncet's Voyage into Abyssinia, an. 1698, & seq.

success at Kayro, had gained the character of a skilful physician, and had been pitched upon by the judicious Mr. Maillet, then consul in the same city, to be sent into Abyssinia, not merely to cure the emperor of his disease; though even in this case a gentleman of his great discernment would hardly have sent thither such a pitiful quack as he is there represented; but he was, under the character of a physician, to negotiate an alliance and good correspondence between the French and Abyssinian court, in order to facilitate a fresh attempt of re-uniting the Abyssinian church to that of Rome. Can it be supposed, that a person of the French consul's character would have entrusted an affair of such importance, which required the highest degree of sagacity, caution, zeal, and secresy, to such an abandoned vagabond? However, we have not yet been able to find that any of this load of invective and calumny hath been able to lessen the credit of his relation; he is still quoted as a person of discernment and sincerity. He hath advanced nothing in his book that either contradicts the accounts of those fathers who wrote before him, or appears fabulous or absurd.

His commission to the emperor of Abyssinia.

The last, and indeed the most voluminous writer on the Abyssinian affairs, is the often mentioned Mr. Ludolph; a gentleman who hath taken indefatigable pains, and spent the greatest part of his life, to make himself a complete master of the Abyssinian tongue, in order to obtain the best intelligence of their religion, politics, and government, from their own writings, as well as to enable others to reap the same advantage, by the help of the grammar and lexicon he hath given us of that language. Most of his history is taken from the Portuguese authors above spoken of, though he omits no opportunity to contradict them, wherever they seem to clash with his abbot Gregory; a person but little qualified for the task he had undertaken, and much more unfit to be so closely followed or relied on, either in point of learning, capacity, or integrity. Mr. Ludolph himself, whatever high qualifications he might find in him in other respects, doth yet complain, in the preface of the last edition of his dictionary, that he found him so ignorant with respect to the language of Ethiopia, that he was often at a loss for the meaning of sundry words and idioms; and that he scrupled not to own his ignorance to him, both by words and in writing.

Ludolph's history of Ethiopia.

Great skill in that tongue.

Abbot Gregory's character.

Ludolph's history decried by the Jesuits.

The Romish writers assert, that Mr. Ludolph had such an artful way of proposing his questions to him, as naturally

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rally led him to make him answer them as he wished, in order to confirm what he had most in view in the writing of his history, in contradiction to all the other accounts that have been given us of the Abyssinian religion [g]; that it comes much nearer, both in faith, church discipline, and rites, to the Lutheran than to the Roman church. It were to be wished, that Mr. Ludolph, instead of drawing most of his intelligence from a person of his abbot's character, and, where this failed him, consulting an Armenian merchant (E) about such points as these, which were entirely out of his province; he had endeavoured to extract his information from more authentic witnesses, such as the Abyssinian liturgies, formularies, catechisms, and other such Ethiopic books, which, he tells us, he had in his possession.

Maillet's account of Abyssinia.

Monsr. Maillet, in his description of Egypt, where he had resided a good number of years as consul of the French nation, hath written something concerning this country, particularly about the great danger and difficulty there hath been, ever since the expulsion of the Portuguese, of penetrating into any part, and especially into the Abyssinian court [h], and hath proposed some new expedients for removing it, and eluding the care and jealousy of the Ethiopians. But we do not find that any thing like it hath been tried since, at least with any success. He there speaks likewise of some other considerable memoirs, written by him some time before on the same subject, and afterwards published at the end of father Lobo's relation of Abyssinia, by his French translator Le Grand; but they contain little concerning that country, except an account of his ill success in endeavouring to promote an embassy between the emperor of it and the king his master, by the assistance of the physician Poncet above mentioned [i]; in the pursuit of which project they took some steps, which proved so displeasing to some of the Jesuits concerned in it, that they have since exposed the Abyssinian envoy as a

Strives in vain to get a mission introduced, but displeases the Jesuits.

[g] See Le Grand Dissert. p. 177, & seq. & seq. Hague edit. 12mo.

[h] Vol. ii. p. 80,

[i] See his Apology addressed to the French Ambassador at the Porte. ap. Le Grand, p. 359, & seq.

(E) This was one Morat, who had been often in Abyssinia, and other parts of Asia and Africa; and being then at Batavia, was, at Mr. Ludolph's request, questioned about the present state of Abyssinia, particularly that of their religion; and in several instances quoted the one in confirmation of what he had been informed of by the other.

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cheat, a person of mean birth, and worse character, who only took upon him that public employ to impose on the French king, and obtain some considerable presents from him. His name was Murat, or Morat, a Syrian by birth. He had been in Abyssinia, and was known to, and employed by, the emperor in some commercial affairs; but pretended moreover to have credential letters as his ambassador to the French king, together with some presents, and a commission to negotiate an alliance of commerce with that court; but the greatest part of those presents he pretended were either lost at sea, or taken from him by the Turkish bashaw of Massousa; and as for the emperor's letter, which he carried in a rich brocaded silk bag, he refused to deliver it up to any but to the king of France's own hands; so that the consul, who was eager, notwithstanding all these obstacles, to prove the embassy, was forced to make use under-hand of the bashaw of Kairo's authority to wrest the letter from him by force, in order to examine the contents of it. But whilst the consul and the fathers of the Holy Land, who were his creatures, endeavoured to support his character of ambassador, the Jesuits were as zealous in destroying it; and affirmed the king's signet was counterfeited, a forgery which they had discovered by comparing it with that of another letter, sent by that monarch to the patriarch of Alexandria. They likewise represented Morat as a vile fellow, a great boaster, liar, and drunkard, who had served as cook in several merchants houses, and at length assumed the character of ambassador to raise his fortune.

The ambassador Morat cried down by them.

The consul's treatment of him.

Morat, seeing himself thus over-reached, and frustrated of the presents he expected to receive, behaved like a man distracted; and was with difficulty, and the joint authority of the bashaw and consul, hindered from turning Mohammedan, and betraying the whole secret; but was at length sent away with some small presents; and embarking for Surat, went and died at Hispahan [1].

De Route sent ambassador into Abyssinia.

The consul had at that time provided one Le Noir, commonly call De Route, a creature of his, thoroughly acquainted with all the particulars of Morat's embassy. Him he sent with the same character to the Abyssinian court as from the French king. But this last met with a much worse fate than that of Morat. After a tedious and dangerous voyage, and other disappointments, he was at length assassinated by order of the king of Sanaar, after

Assassinated at Sanaar.

[1] Vide Le Grand, ubi supra, p. 162, & seq.

having

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having been received at his first arrival with all the marks of favour and distinction due to his public character. Some say that he was dispatched pursuant to a private order which that monarch received from the negus, or emperor, of Abyssinia; and others, that his death was owing to a dislike which the grandees of Sanaar had taken against him, on account of his too great intimacy with the prime minister Ali Zogoyer. A letter was afterwards trumped up, pretended to be written by the negus to the pope, but since brought to his son Tekla Haimanout, who had by this time dethroned him; which, if genuine, wholly clears him from having had any hand in that assassination. The misfortune is, that most of our accounts from those parts are so often contradicted by the opposite parties on both sides, that the truth is not easily ascertained; this only we can be certain of, that his death not only put an end to that consul's project, but that the very notion of a mutual embassy so exasperated the clergy and people, that they readily joined with the emperor's son above named to dethrone his father, as the encourager of it, though more probably quite innocent and ignorant of both.

The Jesuits project another scheme, in which the Alexandrian patriarch joins with them.

Whilst the consul was taken up with the management of this affair, the Jesuits, more refined politicians in things of this nature, had projected another scheme of their own, which was every way more promising. The patriarch of Alexandria, on whom the Abyssinian church wholly depends, had been so far wrought by those dexterous fathers in favour of the Romish church, and the pope's supremacy, as to dispatch an ambassador to the courts of Paris and Rome, with offers of assisting with all his power and authority the Romish missionaries, through all the countries belonging to his patriarchate, in re-uniting the Coptic church to that of Rome. The person pitched upon for this embassy was one Ibrahim Channah, a Maronite, who was strictly charged to execute it with the utmost secrecy in both courts, whilst the good fathers loaded him with letters of recommendations and other encouragements, which procured him an honourable reception wherever he came; more particularly at the court of Versailles, where he was admitted to the royal presence, and caressed by all the prime ministers; after a stay of about four months, from August 24 to November 25, 1702, he was dispatched with new credentials and recommendatory letters to the pope, several cardinals, and other members of the society De Propaganda Fide. This project was so highly relished at the French

Sends an ambassador to Paris and Rome.

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court, that they thought it necessary to send their consu at Cairo express orders to act in concert with the patriarch and the Jesuits, and to forward it with all his power; and this measure occasioned its miscarriage; for the consul, whether out of dislike to it, or to those who had exposed his ambassador as a cheat, divulged the whole secret by his imprudent conduct, and publicly examining the old patriarch about it, who, now sensible of the imminent danger he was in, not only from the Turks, but from his own clergy and laity, denied the whole purport of Ibraim's embassy; alleging that the two letters he had entrusted him with to the pope and French king, were only letters of compliment. In consequence of this declaration, the consul sent no less than three certificates one after another, to the court of Rome, signed by several monks and his own chancellor; all which were shewn to his holiness by cardinal Fabroni; so that he had not resided long at Rome, before he found a quite different treatment than he had met with at Paris, his public character not only questioned, but exposed as a vile forgery and imposition, and calculated only with a view of some considerable gain. The fathers of the mission of the Holy Land, a set of monks quite opposite to the Jesuits, and who now acted under the consul's direction, were the most zealous of all in discrediting him, and exploding all he alleged in his own defence. This persecution obliged him to present a memorial to the pope, complaining of the unjust methods which some people had taken to discredit his commission, and thereby to prevent the good intentions of the patriarch, and the so much desired conversion of the Ethiopians; he therefore begged his holiness to send some proper person into Egypt, to be fully satisfied of the whole matter from the patriarch's own mouth, to the end that if he was proved a cheat, he might be punished as such; and if a faithful messenger, he might have justice done to his character. The proposal was thought so reasonable, that his holiness immediately appointed don Gabriel, a Maronite, of the order of St. Antony, to go to Kairo for that purpose.

Whom the consul exposes as a cheat at Rome.

His defence and memoir to the pope.

Not long after his departure, Ibrahim received a letter from the Alexandrian patriarch, expressing his surprize to find, that, instead of observing the secrecy he had so earnestly enjoined him, he had so far divulged that important affair, that it had reached the ears of the French consul at Kairo, and all that part of the world; insomuch that the fathers of the Holy Land were come in one body to question

The patriarch complains against him and the consul.

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tion him in a public manner, whether it were true that he was come over to the Latin church, and had sent an express messenger into France, to confirm an alliance with it; that upon his asking them what reason they had to put such interrogatories to him, they answered, they were ordered by the court to do so; upon which he told them, that the letters which he had given to Ibrahim were only for his private service. He desired him to acquaint the pope, that he had assembled all the bishops under him to consecrate the oil used at the coronation of the Abyssinian monarchs, and to beg his holiness's blessing upon it. He received another some time after, in which he tells him, that he had finished the consecration of the holy oil, and had sent some of it into Abyssinia by the hand of father Bishot, a Jesuit, who was to go privately into that country, in company with Du Route, whom he had entrusted with a letter to the emperor, and another to the Abyssinian abuna. In both those letters he acknowledges Ibrahim to be his agent and confident, and himself to be an humble dependent on his holiness, to whom, as such, he gave an account of his actions; so that, if these letters were really sent by that patriarch, nothing could more effectually justify the character of Ibrahim against the clamours which the Holy Land missionaries had raised against it at the court of Rome. But what justified him still more effectually, was the return of father Gabriel from Kairo, who confirmed all the particulars of Ibrahim's embassy, in a new letter which he brought from the patriarch to the pope.

Message to the pope.

Ibrahim's legacy to the pope justified and confirmed by the patriarch.

Ibrahim, thus vindicated, was very pressing at the Romish court for a proper reparation to his character; but after many delays and excuses, was told, that Rome was not a proper place to obtain justice against the fathers of the Holy Land; and that as to the French consul, he must apply to the French court for redress. At which answer being highly dissatisfied, he left that city about the end of the year 1705, leaving behind some presents, which the pope had designed to send by him to the Alexandrian patriarch, but which were afterwards conveyed to him by another hand. Ibrahim was soon after shipwrecked on the coast of Cyprus; and having lost all his effects, and the greatest part of his papers, and obtaining a certificate of his misfortune, went and settled at Saide[1]; a circumstance which put an end at once to his public character and embassy, and to this promising and deeply concerted scheme of the society, as they had done to that of the French consul.

But no reparation is made to him.

Is shipwrecked in his way home.

[1] Le Grand, ubi supra, p. 6', & seq. 47', & seq.

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The Abyssinians more jealous and irreconcilable by those embassies.

Can we therefore wonder at the vigilance of the Abyssinian monarchs to keep all the avenues to their territories so strongly and closely guarded against all approaches of the Europeans, when they see what plots and contrivances they are capable of, what dangers, labours, and expences they will expose themselves to, and what their views and designs tend to, in endeavouring to gain at any rate a fresh entrance into them? On the other hand, where there reigns such jealousy and emulation, not to call it by a worse name, between those missionaries of different orders, who yet profess to have the same meritorious views, the reducing of that whole country under the pope's subjection, can it be at all surprising that the accounts we have from thence should come to us so lame, dissonant, and unsatisfactory?

And our accounts thence more uncertain.

SECT. II.

The Situation, Division, various Names, Extent, Limits, Provinces, &c. of the Abyssinian Empire; with an Account of the Gallas, and their several Conquests.

The geography of Abyssinia.

THIS empire is situate entirely under the torrid zone; between the 8th and 17th deg. of north latitude, and between the 31st and 40th of west longitude from our London meridian. The former is taken by drawing a strait line from the old country of Focay, lying a little above Swakem, and forming its northern boundary under the 18th degree, quite to that of Bergamo, its utmost southern boundary, which lies under the 17th, and will consequently be about nine degrees in length. But as at this present time the country of Focay is dismembered from the empire, so that we must reckon only from one degree above Mazowa, that is, from the 16th to Bergamo above mentioned, it will be still shorter by one degree. Hence appears the great error of old geographers, who extended its southern limits so far beyond the equinoctial line, as to place the head of the Nile several degrees south of it; which is, by the latest and most accurate observations, found to be almost thirteen degrees on this side of the equator [a].

Situation and length.

Breadth.

The breadth of the empire is commonly computed from the coasts of the Red Sea, eastward, to the banks of the

[a] Almeyda, Mendez, Lobo, et al. pl.

Nile,

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Nile, in that part where it winds itself most westward, and surrounds the greatest part of the kingdom of Gojam, in the form of a peninsula, and where it extends itself somewhat above nine degrees, or, according to Ameyda, who had travelled it over more than once, about one hundred and forty Portuguese leagues. In other parts, however, both southwards and northwards, those limits are much contracted.

Kingdoms and provinces subject to it.

This empire hath formerly been vastly more extensive, having been stripped of above one half of those kingdoms and provinces which were once subject to it; the greater part of which were either invaded by the Gallas, a barbarous people we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel, or revolted from it. Of these latter, some made themselves independent, and had princes of their own, and others had put themselves under the protection of the Mohammedans, long before the Portuguese set foot in it; and several others have since followed their example, out of dislike to the extraordinary partiality which some of the Abyssinian monarchs had expressed for the church of Rome. As to those kingdoms or provinces which were still in subjection to the empire at the time when Don Alphonso Mendez was there, they are, among the first, 1. Tigre, 2. Dambea, 3. Begameder, 4. Gojam, 5. Amahara, 6. Dancali, 7. Narea, and 8. part of Xaoa. The latter are, 1. Mazaga, 2. Salent, 3. Ogara, 4. Abargale, 5. Holcuit, 6. Salgaad, 7. Semen, 8. Salowa, 9. Oleca, and 10. Douba; amongst which, some of the kingdoms, as well as the provinces, are wholly subject to the Abyssinian emperors; and others are only vassals, and pay a kind of tribute to them of horses and corn, according to their extent and fertility.

Those that are dismembered from it.

Those that had been dismembered from it are, 1. Angot, 2. Dowaro, 3. Ogge, 4. Balli, 5. Adea, 6. Almala, 7. Oxelo, 8. Gantz, 9. Bethzamora, 10. Guragua, 11. Buzana, 12. Suffgamo, 13. Bahargamo, 14. Cambat, 15. Boxa, 16. Gumar, 17. Conch, 18. Damot, 19. Doba, 20. Motta, 21. Awra, 22. Holeca, 23. Oylat, 24. Guedem, 25. Ganh, 26. Marvabet, 27. Mantz, and 28. Bizamo [b]. By the loss of these last, one may judge how greatly inferior this empire is to what it hath formerly been.

Boundaries and extent.

It is at present bounded on the north by the kingdom of Nubia, or Senaar; on the east, by the Red Sea, and the coasts of Abex, or Abash, which have been since dismembered from it, and make a province of the Turkish empire; and lower southwards, by the kingdoms of Dongali

[b] Id. ibid. Vide & Davity, Dapper, Ludolph, Poncet, & al.

and

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and Dowaro, and part of the country of Gallas; on the south, by Lower Ethiopia; and on the west, by the river Maley, which divides it from Shankala, or the country of wandering Ethiopians, and falls into the Nile, after it hath run a good way into the Nubian dominions [c]. Hence it appears that this empire, even when in its utmost extent, was for the most part inland, being contiguous to no ocean, except in that small part on the east, which adjoins to a tract along the coasts of the Red Sea, upon which the Abyssinian emperors had formerly some considerable ports, whence they drove a commerce with other parts of the world; but since the Turks have made themselves masters of them, the whole empire is so inclosed on every side by a variety of nations at enmity with, and beyond measure jealous of them, especially since they had given so kind a reception to the Portuguese, that all access to it from any side is become, if not absolutely impracticable, at least extremely difficult and dangerous.

Inclosed on all sides.

Supposed the ancient kingdom of Sheba;

and of the queen Candace.

This country, whatever its extent may have formerly been, is with no small probability believed, by some learned men, to have been the Sheba of the Old Testament, whence that great queen, whom Josephus calls Nicaulis, and styles queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, came from those remote parts to hear the wisdom of Solomon. It is likewise believed to have been the kingdom of the famed queen Candace, queen of Ethiopia, whose eunuch, or prime minister, came to worship at Jerusalem; and, in his return homewards, was baptized by Philip the deacon, and from whom the Abyssines acknowlege they afterwards received the Gospel. We are assured, by some of the ancient writers [d], that this country was commonly governed by queens, and, that a good number of them had already reigned there, under the name, or rather title, of Candace, supposed to have been common to them all, as that of Pharaoh was to all the kings of Egypt; the term Candace importing their sovereign authority.

Governed by queens.

The ancient Meroe.

Again, this country is the so much celebrated island, or rather peninsula, of Meroe of the ancients, whose queens are said to have borne that common name, or title. Lastly, this country is supposed by many moderns, to be the so much sought for dominions, whether real or imaginary, over which Prester John is pretended to have been sovereign, and are still called after his name by them, as we shall see in some of the subsequent paragraphs.

[c] Alf. Mendez, Almeyda, Lobo, Poncet, Ludolph, & al. supra citat. [d] Pliny, lib. vi. cap. 29. Strab. lib. xvi. cap. 17.

It

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It is indifferently called Abissinia, Abyssinia, Abbessinia, and Abassia, but more properly Habessinia, with a strong aspiration, from the Arabic Habesh, which signifies a *mixture*, or *confusion*; the country being peopled by a mixt variety of nations. If we may believe Strabo, that name was given to it on account of the vast wilderness, and stony deserts with which it abounds, and which the Egyptians call abasses. Some others conjecture it to be taken from Abaxa, the capital city of the kingdom of Adel, whose monarchs were once masters of this; all which etymologies, another judicious author, with no small shew of reason, rejects, as uncertain and frivolous; and thinks the name of Abyssinia has no more certain signification than those of many other kingdoms, better known to us by our acquaintance with people than by the original of their denominations[f]. However that be, it is plain the Abyssinians themselves absolutely rejected both the names and its etymons; and affect to call themselves Itjopians, and their country Mangheста Itjopia, or kingdom of Ethiopia, which is one of the principal names by which that was known to the ancients; though that be rather an epithet to denote the blackness of its inhabitants. As for the distinguishing epithet of Upper, it may have been given to it either on account of the Nile's descending from it into the Lower, or on account of its being nearer than it to the Arctic pole, which, with respect to us, is always above us.

Its various names.

Whence derived.

But there is one name which the Portuguese, though without any foundation, have bestowed upon this empire, or rather emperor; viz. that of Prester John, Presbyter John, or, as some others have turned it, Preste or Precious John. It plainly appears from the unanimous consent of all the Portuguese who have been in Abyssinia, and more particularly from that of the Jesuits, and other religious missionaries, who were sent thither, several of whom have travelled through that whole country from end to end, over and over again, that there was not the least trace or footstep to be found of any such name or title as that of Prester or Presbyter John; nor any of the natives that knew, or had ever heard of, any emperor so styled or dignified, or any thing in their language that bears any analogy or allusion to that appellation.

Whence called Prester John's empire.

That title not known in any part of Abyssinia.

On the other hand, it appears from Marco Paulo, and other travellers, that there was such a great and potent empire in Asia, whose sovereign was a Christian, styled

Prester John's dominions in Asia.

[f] Manuel, Almeyda, ubi supra.

the

Christians of St Thomas there.

the Presbyter John, a Nestorian, and subject in spirituals to the patriarch of Babylon. Of these heretical Christians, or, as they are commonly called, Christians of St. Thomas, or of the mountains, the reader may see a learned and succinct account in the relation of the patriarch Dom. Alex. Moneses's journey through those parts, by Father Ant. de Govea. The monarch above mentioned reigned in the mountains of India; and his name, being Jochannan, which in the Hebrew and Syriac being the same which the Latins and Greeks render Joannes, and we John, was the common name of all the monarchs of that empire, as that of Pharaoh was given to all the kings of Egypt, and that of Cæsar to all the Roman emperors. The title of Prester, which is only a corruption or abbreviation of that of presbyter, was given them, it seems, on account of their having the cross carried before them, in the same manner as it is before the Romish bishops [g].

Prester John the common name of those kings.

How it came to be brought into Abyssinia.

The next question that naturally occurs, is, by what mistake or artifice the empire of Prester John came to be translated into Africa, and fixed so positively in Abyssinia by the authors on the other side? John II. king of Portugal, having conceived an extraordinary desire to find out this so much celebrated empire, in order to enter into an alliance of commerce and friendship with its opulent monarch, sent two of his subjects into Asia by land, to get what information they could about it. The one, called Peter Covillam, after a long and fruitless search, being returned from India to Kairo, found there some memoirs conveyed thither by Alphonso de Payva, the other person whom that monarch had dispatched upon the same errand, but was dead in his journey without having gained any certain intelligence concerning the land he went in search of. During his stay at Adem, Suakem, and other parts along the western coasts of the Red Sea, he heard so much talk of the Abyssinian emperor, and of his being a Christian, and carrying a cross in his hand; that his subjects were all schismatic Christians, who had their bishops, secular and regular priests, sumptuous churches, abbeys, monasteries, and other traces of such a Christian empire as he was in search of, none of which had fallen in his way in any of those parts of India through which he had travelled, that he was easily led to conclude, that he had gone upon a wrong scent; and that this, must be the

The Portuguese send two men in search of it.

Covillam imagines he has found it here.

[g] Id. ibid. Vide & Lobo, ap. Le Grand. ubi supra, p. 233. & seq. Du Cange, Observ. on Joinvill. & al.

happy

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happy spot so eagerly sought for by, and till now so little known to, the Portuguese. What might perhaps still more confirm him in this conjecture, was, that the emperors of this country were all of the priestly order, ordained before they could be crowned, and, after that, still continued to execute the priestly functions. Whether he was really misled by these appearances, or weary of such a painful and fruitless search, or sought only to save his character by imposing upon the king of Portugal, we will not determine: but upon this slight foundation he immediately wrote to that monarch, from Kairo, whilst he made himself ready to take a journey into Ethiopia, to make some farther discoveries to give his notion a still greater currency both at that court and other parts of Europe, in which scheme he succeeded even beyond his expectation. His account met with such a general approbation wherever it reached, that the Abyssinian monarch was every where dubbed and proclaimed the true Prester John, and that of Asia to be a supposititious one, owing perhaps probably to the inattention of the authors on the other side, and their not considering that Abyssinia is frequently called India in Africa, or African India. However that be, by this pretended discovery of Covillam, the real Prester John was soon buried in oblivion, not only in Portugal, but all over Europe, and the supposititious one cried up and proclaimed in his room.

Sends word of it to Portugal.

The notion passes for current there.

What seems to have farther contributed to confirm this latter in these his supposed dominions, is, that Marco Paulo makes his Prester John to have had his usual residence at Arkiko, a sea-port upon the coast of the Red Sea, the first town in Abyssinia on that side, but since taken by the Turks. This is absolutely inconsistent with the notion of his reigning in the Asiatic India, or kingdom of Chatay, because these two are at as great a distance from each other as Portugal is from Peru [s].

Thus far goes the account which those learned authors above quoted give us of the first introduction of this new title into Abyssinia, which is the point we were most concerned about in this chapter, and about which they all unanimously declare their opinion, that both Covillam and Payva, the first broachers of that notion, were certainly mistaken. However, as there are still very many, especially among the missionary fathers, who still persist in the opinion that there is no Prester John to be

Some reasons alleged for it.

[s] See the letter in Le Grand's Dissertation on Prester John, p. 225, & seq.

found

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Abyssinia allowed be Prester John's long before Covillam.

found out of the Abyssinian dominions, so some of them have mustered up several fresh testimonies, which, if authentic, prove that those emperors were acknowleged by the title of Prester John some years before those two gentlemen wrote any thing about it to the king of Portugal.

The kingdom of Tigre described.

We come now to give our readers a description of the several kingdoms which still compose this great monarchy; and shall begin with that of Tigre, or Tigra, as the largest and the most considerable in all respects, and as it is the neareſt to the Red Sea, and the Turkish dominions and conquests.

Its site and extent.

It hath Nubia or Sinaar on the north; the sea above mentioned on the east; the kingdoms of Angot and Dancali on the south; and those of Dambea and Bagameder on the west. Its length, from north to south, taken from Mazowa (A), or Arkiko, now belonging to the Turks, to the desert of Aldoba and mount Sement, is computed about three hundred Italian miles; and its breadth, from the same desert to the province of Bul, about half, or, according to others, almost the same [b]. What rendered this kingdom still more considerable before the loss of its two ports, was its metropolis of Axum, or Axuma, the place where its monarchs repaired to be crowned.

Metropolis of Axuma.

Fremona, the residence of the Jesuits.

About half a degree south-west of Axuma, or, as the Portuguese corruptly write it, Cathumo, or Cachumo, stands the town of Madgoga, so called formerly from the murmuring noise of a neighbouring rivulet. It hath since received the name of Fremona from the Jesuit missionaries, who had their residence in it, on account of one father Frumentius, the first of their order that ventured into these parts. These place became still more celebrated by the long residence and death of father Andrea de Oviedo, sent thither patriarch of Ethiopia by the pope; since whose death it still continued the residence and seminary of all the missionaries of that order who went into Abyssinia, the greatest part of whom lost their lives for the cause they came to preach there, the supremacy of the church and pope of Rome, until their final expulsion, of which we shall give an account in its proper place. Other cities or towns are very few and mean, both in

[b] Tellez, Ludolph, Lobo, & al.

(A) Mazowa, Matzua, or Maçua, is a small island on the Red Sea, over-against Arkiko; which last is the first sea-port belonging to the continent of Abyssinia.

this

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this kingdom, and every where through the whole empire. This of Fremona hath been found to stand in 14 deg. and half of N. latitude, and the whole kingdom lies between the 13th and 16th, being reckoned of about the same extent with that of Portugal. It hath, according to the patriarch Mendez, forty-four governments under it; but, according to Mr. Ludolph [i], only twenty-seven, with seven maritime districts, which are dismembered from it, and have governors of their own, whom they style barnagash, that is, overseers or superintendants of the sea. These prefectures, however, are not to be looked upon as so many distinct governments, seeing one barnagash may, and hath sometimes two or three of them under his command; so that, according to the last author, this kingdom, or viceroyalty rather, can have, at the most, no more than thirty-four districts or governments under it. The extent of this kingdom, and variety of its governments, hath in all probability been the chief cause why some geographers have split it into no less than four distinct ones in their maps, one of which they call Tigray, which they place near the line; a second in ten degrees north, which they call Tigre; between these two a third, called by them Tigra Mahoa; and a fourth still farther, on which is that of the barnagash above mentioned [k].

Division of that kingdom.

Falsely split into four kingdoms.

Contiguous to Tigre, on the south, is the kingdom of Angot, formerly rich and fertile, but now almost ruined by the Gallas, who have dispossessed the Abyssinian emperors of the greatest part of it; and the small remains they have left them have hardly any thing worth mentioning, except the poverty of its inhabitants.

Angot kingdom ruined.

That of Bagameder, or Bagamedri, lies west of Tigre, and runs almost contiguous to it, extending quite to the Nile. Its length is computed to be about sixty leagues, and its breadth twenty, but was formerly much more extensive, several of its provinces having been dismembered from it, and joined to that of Tigre. A great part of it is very mountainous and rocky, especially towards the east, which is mostly inhabited by those wild nations. Some towns, though much decayed, there are still left in this kingdom; particularly the metropolis of its name, where the viceroy is obliged to go and receive a fresh crown, besides that with which he is crowned at the em-

Bagameder kingdom, its extent.

[i] Lib. i. cap. 3. [k] Travels of the Jesuits, from Tellez, chap. 2. p. 9. Ludolph, Davity, Dapper, & al.

peror's

peror's court. This town, in all other respects inconsiderable, is seated on the small river Bachlo, or Baxillo, which divides this kingdom from that of Amhara, on the south side of it: the others are still less worth notice. It is divided into thirteen governments, most of them fertile, and well watered by small rivers, besides the Bachlo above mentioned, particularly the third in rank, named Dabr; which Ludolph's Gregory compares to Germany on those two accounts [1].

Kingdom of Amhara, why the noblest of all.

The kingdom of Amara, or Amhara, is contiguous to Bagameder on the south, and divided by the Nile from that of Gojam on the west side. It is computed to extend about forty leagues from east to west, and is considered as the most noble and honourable in the whole empire, upon several accounts: First, As it is the usual residence of the Abyssinian monarchs, and consequently of the chief nobility. 2. On the account of its peculiar dialect, different from all the rest, and since become that of the whole court, and of the politer part of the empire. Here stand likewise the two famed rocks of Guechon, or Guexen, and Ambacel, where the princes of the blood were formerly confined and educated. Lastly, this kingdom is looked upon as the centre of the empire. Though small in comparison of some others, it hath nevertheless no fewer than thirty-six districts or governments, concerning which we can find little else but their names, in Ludolph's history.

Its peculiar dialect.

Kingdom of Gojam.

Farther west, and on the other side of the Nile, is the celebrated kingdom of Gojam, almost surrounded on every side by that river, excepting only on the north-east side, where it is inclosed by the Dembean lake; on which account, it is now judged to be the island, or rather peninsula, of Meroe. Its length, from north-west to south-east, is somewhat above fifty leagues; and its breadth, from east to west, where it is broadest, about thirty. Both these sides are bounded by the Nile, which, taking its spring at near the middle distance between them, and almost in the centre of the kingdom, surrounds, and as it were entrenches it every way.

Surrounded by the Nile.

Agarens, and other nations, in it.

The country is fertile, but much higher and mountainous towards the middle, and those heights are mostly inhabited by a people said to be the descendants of Agar, Abraham's Egyptian maid. The north-west part of the kingdom is likewise mountainous, and inhabited by the

[1] Lib. i. cap. 3. Vide & Tellez, Lobo, & al. sup. citat.

Agaus

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Agaus or Agaux, but different from those of the same name who live in the mountains of Lusta, and waged a long and bloody war against Soltan Segued, from whom they had revolted. These, we are speaking of, dwell mostly about the spring-heads of the Nile, and spread themselves a great way. They profess Christianity, but are much addicted to idolatry and superstition: in other respects they are not unlike the Abyssinians [m]. We shall have occasion to speak of some of these stupendous mountains, among the natural rarities of the empire. We are told that some of the highest, towards the north part of this kingdom, are inhabited by Jews; but we are more apt to believe them to be some of the ancient race of Abyssinians, who still retain the old Jewish rites; for though it be scarcely doubted, that there are great numbers of Jews dispersed through the whole empire [n], as they are every where else, yet they are seldom known to prefer such desert habitations before the more inhabited plains and places of commerce: neither is it likely they would chuse to stay to bleach themselves on those inhospitable rocks, unless we suppose some rich mines to lie hid amongst them, which keep them more profitably employed.

Jews on the north mountains.

This kingdom contains twenty districts or governments; and a greater number of heathens than any other in the empire [o]. Northward of Gojam lies Dembea, which is parted from it by the lake of its own name and the Nile, and is one of the flattest countries in all Abyssinia; on which account it is frequently overflowed by both, as well as by other rivers which flow from the mountains into them. It is not above twenty-four leagues in length, from east to west; and about twelve or thirteen in breadth, exclusive of its lake. But if we add this to it, which is large enough to be styled by the inhabitants the sea of Dembea, and spreads itself along the southern and south-east side of it, it will have above double that extent from north to south [p]. It hath some mountains of an extraordinary height, the chief of which we shall describe in their proper place. Some geographers likewise mention several considerable cities, and a good number of towns; and yet Mr. Ludolph, or his Abyssinian abbot, men-

Governments.

Dembea described.

Extent.

Lake.

Towns.

[m] Tellez, Echinard, Lobo, apud. Le Grand, ubi supra, Dissert. ii. p. 202. [n] See Benj. de Tudela Itinerar. [o] Vide Tellez, & al. sup. citat. Ludolph, lib. i. cap. 9. § 19. Codig. lib. i. cap. 4. [p] Corneil, la Martiniere, & al.

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tions none of the former, and but that of Guba, or Gubai, among the latter, which he says is the queen's residence, as well as that of the emperor whenever he leaves the camp.

However that be, this kingdom is still considerable, on account of its having been the chief in which the Abyssinian monarchs made their usual residence, or kept their principal camp and court, in the time of the patriarch Mendez, to whom the emperor Segued gave the whole territory of Anfras, in order to induce the Jesuits and him to settle in it. They accordingly built some stately churches and monasteries, which, together with the royal palace, greatly added to the magnificence of that kingdom. The viceroy of it hath fourteen prefectures under him, and takes the title of viceroy of Dembea Cantiba [q].

The kingdom of Narea described;

The last kingdom worth taking notice of is Narea, or Enarea, the fartheſt and last of them all, situate under the 9th, and part of the 8th, deg. of N. latitude, and under the 30th and 31st of W. longitude. It was formerly governed by its own monarchs, who, as well as their subjects, were heathens; but, being since conquered by the emperor Saghed, or Segued, somewhat above a century ago, they were obliged to embrace Christianity, with all the errors of the Abyssinian church; for, till then, no Jesuit or missionary had penetrated into their territories. But there is still a considerable part of it unsubdued, and perhaps unconverted; for that which is so, extends hardly above thirty or forty leagues either way.

conquered and converted.

Rich and fertile: rich trade with the Caffres.

However, the whole kingdom is reckoned rich and fertile, producing great plenty and vast quantities of cattle, and driving a very considerable commerce with the Caffres, who carry thither abundance of gold, which they exchange for cloaths, salt, and other commodities.

The Nareans are, even by the Abyssinians themselves, allowed to be the best and handsomest people in all Ethiopia [r]: tall, stout, and well-shaped; and, in their dealings, honest, wise, faithful, and undisguised. They are also brave and warlike, and have also gallantly defended their country against the incursions of the wild and barbarous Gallas, though these have proved strong and numerous enough to subdue above half the Abyssinian empire. The tribute they pay to the Abyssinian emperor

[q] Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 17, 18. ap. Ludolph, lib. i. cap. 3. § 12.

[r] See Abbot Gregory Vide & Tellez, Lobo, & al. sup. citat.

seems

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seems rather to proceed from their loyalty, than any force or obligation; as, on the one hand, they receive no assistance from him against those common invaders; neither, on the other, doth he keep any standing forces, garrisons, or fortresses, to maintain them in awe. This kingdom is said by some authors to have mines of gold; but this notion probably is owing to the great quantity of that metal which the neighbouring Caffres bring into it; which they would hardly do, if the Nareans had any such rich mines in their own country [s].

The sad state of the provinces, and revolted kingdoms.

The provinces that continue to obey the Abyssinian emperor, are still in a worse case than those kingdoms, being not only heavily taxed by those princes, and cruelly oppressed by their governors, but likewise exposed to the ravages of the Gallas; as are several of those other kingdoms which have revolted from their obedience, or been subdued by some neighbouring states, such as the Turk, the king of Adel, and others at war with the Abyssinian monarchs.

The Gallas, who, and whence.

As we have had so frequent occasion to mention those Gallas, Galli, or Balli, as they are styled, who have made such dreadful havock here, it will not be improper, before we go farther, to give our readers some account of those plundering barbarians, especially as they have got possession of so considerable a share of this empire. They are divided into eastern, southern, and western, according to their situation with respect to Abyssinia.

Their conquests and settlements.

The eastern are seated along the frontiers of the kingdom of Tigre and Dancali, and have seized the greatest part of this last, together with Angot, Dowaro, Olfale, and Xoa. The southern extend along the river Hoax, from the frontiers of the kingdom of Adel westward, and have made themselves masters of the greatest part of the kingdoms of Gomar, Bergumo, Guragea, Cambate, Ganza, Ceuta, Damota or Dumut. The western spread themselves all along the river Maleg, where they possess Bizamo, part of Xoa or Shewa, Gaffat, Gonga, and some part of that of Gojam on the west; but how far northwards, towards Nicoia, we are not told [t]. Thus far had these wild people not only dismembered this great empire of a considerable number of its provinces, but likewise hedged it closely in on three sides, when the Portuguese first went thither: how far they

[s] Tellez, Almeyda, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat. [t] Vide Ludolph, lib. ii. cap. 16. Tellez, Lobo, Davit. Dapper, & al. sup. citat.

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The emperor's want of force to suppress them.

have encroached upon it after their expulsion, from which time those emperors became still weaker, and less able to suppress their inroads, for want of a sufficient number of forces, artillery, and garrisons to guard their frontiers, we can only guess from the distracted state of the empire, occasioned by the foreign wars and domestic broils that then raged on account of religion, and the partial preference which had been shewn to the Romish, against the national church, by the reigning emperor Basilides; for it is not to be supposed that a fierce invading nation would let slip any such opportunity of penetrating still farther into his dominions when they saw him so powerfully beset from within and without.

Their original.

The origin of the Gallas is variously conjectured; the generality of the learned think them descended from the Jews; but whether from those whom Shalmanezer king of Assyria, or Nebuchadnezzer king of Babylon, transplanted from Palestine, or from those whom Titus Vespasian, Adrian, or Severus, expelled from thence, and settled in some of these parts of Ethiopia, they are not agreed. It is plain, however, that, bating the single ceremony of circumcision which they retain amongst them, in common with the Jews, Arabs, and Abyssinians, there there is so little affinity in their religion, customs, manners, language, or even in their name, that we cannot but wonder how that notion came into their minds upon the evidence of one single rite so common amongst most of the nations in these parts.

The Abyssinians affirm they were a band of discontented slaves, who, like all other banditti and free-booters, having gathered themselves into hords, or tribes, seized on all the territories they could get footing in, round about the Abyssinian confines; and, taking the advantage of an unsuccessful war, which the emperor was then engaged in against the king of Adel, first invaded his frontiers, and, by degrees, made themselves masters of the great number of out-provinces which we have lately mentioned.

Their religion.

With regard to religion, they are allowed to acknowlege a supreme Governor of all sublunary things, whom they call I'oul; but whether they mean by it the heavens, or the sun, or the Creator of them both, we are not told; but it is only said in general, that they pay no outward worship; and that in this, as well as other parts of religion, they appear to be very ill instructed and ignorant.

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norant[a]. They are also given to very strange superstitions, and have some barbarous customs amongst them; in some of which, if they are not belied, they seem to out-do even the wild beasts, particularly in their unnatural neglect of their own children, whom even in their tender years, they leave to wander at random, like little savages; by which means they contract, with their robust hardiness, a natural ferocity, which being afterwards improved, by their being so early initiated into the martial trade, they become not only stout and intrepid, but to a great degree brutal and cruel. They are taught the use of the sword, and that it is an honour and happiness to live by it, as giving the best title to every thing they possess, and being the most effectual means of preserving it: they are brought up to a desire of glory and conquest, and to despise slavery and death. Their youth are not allowed to cut their hair, till they have killed an enemy, or some wild beast, such as a lion, tyger, or leopard; after which exploit they are permitted to poll their heads, leaving only a lock on the top, as the Japonese, and other Indian nations do; and this inspires them with an uncommon ambition to signalize themselves by their bravery, as the most effectual means of raising themselves into esteem, and obtain the more honourable seats at their councils, and festivals, for the greater number of these actions a man hath performed, the higher he is raised. For this reason, they take care to save all the heads of those enemies they have killed, as trophies of the greatest value; and whenever any contest, or doubt, arises about them, as when there is no beard upon them, and may be supposed to have belonged to a female, they have a law, which obliges the person to produce a more decisive part along with it, else they are not admitted. To prevent, therefore, all disputes, they are obliged to lay those trophies, that are gained in battle, before their proper officers, at the head of their tribes, as soon as the engagement is over: there they are publicly viewed and examined, and, if approved, are entered into the common register; after which enrollment, the owner hath liberty to carry them to his own tent, together with his share of the spoil, or plunder, which is adjudged to him according to the share he hath had in the victory: by this method, all collusion and deceit is prevented, or else discovered and punished, it being every man's concern to

Cruel customs.

Cruelty to their children.

Their way of gaining esteem.

Bloody trophies.

[a] Lobo. & al. ap. Le Grand, ubi supra, p. 65.

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discourage and detect all such false pretences to merit, as well as the duty of their commanding officers, to inflict an adequate punishment on the delinquents.

Way of fighting,

They are no less severe in detecting and punishing their cowards and runaways. It is even a capital crime among them to give way after the onset is begun; so that they all fight either to conquer or die, neither giving, nor asking, quarter[w]. They have gained many signal victories over the Abyssinians, though much superior in number and strength, and provided with better horses and arms than they.

and making inroads.

Whenever, therefore, the Gallas make any of their excursions into the territory of an enemy, instead of trusting to numbers, they commonly chuse a select number of determined youths, to the amount of eight thousand, or ten thousand at the most, who, being all sworn to stand by one another to the last, fall on, and fight with such desperate intrepidity, as seldom fails of putting an enemy of twice or three times the number into a speedy disorder. The great emperor Sultan Sugued, who had often experienced their valour to his own cost, was wont to say, "That the Ethiopians never could stand the first shock of the Gallas;" for which reason, he always suffered them to penetrate a good way into the country, that they might have time to plunder and cool; and at their return, when they had loaded themselves with booty, and were thinking only how to convey it home, and enjoy the prize, and their first fury much abated, he then lay in wait for them in the way, and called them to account for what they had got; by which means, he not only recovered the booty, but sacrificed their lives to his resentment[x].

Mean cavalry.

The Gallas, heretofore, had no cavalry among them, but have learned, since their coming into Ethiopia, to fight on horseback as well as on foot. Their horses, indeed, are mean, in comparison of those of the Abyssinians; but yet they keep their ranks so close, and engage in such good order, that an enemy seldom can stand the shock. Their weapons consist of the bow and arrow, and the dart, when they fight at a distance; at all which they are very expert; and of the sword among those of high rank, and the club and pole, with one end hardened in the fire, when they come to close engagement: they like-

[w] Ludolph, & al. ubi supra. lib. i.

[x] Jesuits Letters, chap. xii.

wise

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wise have the use of shields, which are commonly made of strong bull's or buffalo's hide.

Government.

They have no kings, but are divided into a great variety of tribes, each of which chuses a chief, or general commander, whom they call luva, lowa, or lubo, from among themselves, every eight years, or oftener, if one dies before that time, and him they obey as their prince or sovereign. The first thing which those luvas do, after they are chosen, is to signalize themselves by some plundering inroad into the empire, at the head of a select flying army, killing and ravaging wherever they come, sparing neither quality, age, sex, or place, in order to gain to themselves and soldiers a stock of wealth and fame; so that it seems as if this unfortunate empire was their granary and magazine, where they go for a supply of all their wants. At his return from this first irruption, which they style dela gritto, or *general muster*, because it is out of that he picks up his select flying camp, his authority is confirmed, which reaches only to military affairs, that is, to convene the great council at proper seasons, where all civil matters are finally decided, peace or war resolved; and if the latter, he commands in chief, and distributes to the respective officers under him, their several posts and commands: in the like manner when the war or expedition is over, he assigns to each man his proper honours and rewards, according to his merit and behaviour; but if any discontent, or matter of complaint, arises, the national council hath then alone the power to confirm, alter, or abrogate his former sentence or degree; but whether to depose them for male-administration, we are not told; though that is most likely to be the case, among such a fierce and warlike people[y]. To give our English readers some idea of the wretched state, of these octennial monarchs, we shall oblige them with the description which father Lobo gives us of one of them, and his court, and of the reception and treatment he met with there; but which, to give it no better place than it deserves, we shall subjoin in the following note (B): neither did he find the subjects much better

Their luvas, or octennial chiefs.

Dreadful inroads.

Their power and office.

Excessive meanness.

[y] Tellez, Ludolph, & al.

(B) Being obliged, says the good father, to pay my respects to the lubo, or *king*, in order to discover a new way into Ethiopia, I found him with all his wives and flocks about him;

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The people very poor.

better bred, for having had the complaisance to tear a white handkerchief into a good number of slips, and divided it among them to satisfy their avidity, they became so greedy and troublesome for more, and gathered in such tumultuous troops about him, that, to avoid their fury at his refusal, he was forced to barricade himself, and his four Portuguese companions, in his hut, and to fire a gun over their heads; the noise of which laid them all flat on the ground, and soon frighted them into submission [z]. They are nevertheless so proud, with their excessive poverty, that they neither till, sow, or plant, or gather any thing that the land produces, except, perhaps, when they snatch a bolus of chewed grass out of a cow's mouth to put it into their own, that being reckoned a most delicious morsel among them; so that all their spacious plains and vales only serve to afford their cattle such food as the earth naturally brings forth. They look after their cattle, drink their milk, and eat their flesh raw, which is all their food, except, perhaps, human flesh, which we

Neglect of agriculture.

[z] Lobo, ubi supra, Voy. ii. p. 22. & seq.

the place where he received me being a hut, thatched with straw, but somewhat larger than those of his subjects. His manner of giving audience to strangers is somewhat singular: he appears seated in the midst, with all his courtiers about him, sitting against the wall, each with a goad, or staff, or club, in his hand, longer or shorter according to his rank; the longer, the more dignified. As soon as the stranger enters the place, all those courtiers fall foul upon him, and bastonade him, till he has regained the door, and got hold of it with his hand; upon which they return to their seats, and he is complimented, as if nothing like it had been done to him. I myself, says he, did not fare one jot better, notwithstanding the peaceable and friendly offices that had passed between us; and when I asked the meaning of so strange a ceremony, I was answered, that it was to make those that came among them sensible of the valour and bravery of their nation above all others, and how reasonable it is for them to behave submissively to it. And well might they think so, seeing they hardly know any other people, except those indigent wretches that cross over mountains and forests to traffic with them; yet, adds our author, they have such high esteem for the Portuguese, that they style them the gods of the sea (1).

(1) Lobo, ap. Le Grand Relat. de l'Abyssinie, Voy. ii. p. 23, & seq.

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are told they likewise eat [a]; so easily are their hunger and thirst satisfied. They have not the use of bread, nor of any succedaneum to it; but when they find any in the Abyssinian countries, where they make their frequent inroads, they seize greedily on it, and eat it with a good appetite; yet will not this induce them to sow any corn in their own lands: and this reason they give for it, that the Ethiopians, and other enemies, may not be tempted to invade them, and reap the benefit of their labour; for it is their constant custom, whenever they find any neighbouring states pouring in their troops among them, to retire into some remote parts, with all their families and cattle, which last is all their wealth; so that the enemy, finding nothing to subsist upon, during the march, and the long barren tracts they have still to go over, to come at them, they must of course be obliged either to go back, or perish; for neither the Abyssines, nor any of their neighbours, have the forecast to make a sufficient provision of food and drink for such long journies; and, finding two such powerful enemies as hunger and thirst, they are more effectually repulsed than they could have been by all their weapons and brutish bravery. By this strange policy they are able to secure their conquests against an enemy, in all other respects superior to them; and to defend themselves, without striking a blow, whilst their poverty and the barrenness of their country is as effectual a barrier against all invasions [b].

Mean food. *Their reasons for it.* *Strange way of repelling their enemies.*

The Gallas are not, however, without some good qualities; they are honest, and true to their promise, and are never known to violate at oath. Their ceremony of taking it, is, by bringing a sheep to the place, and anointing it with butter; after which ceremony, the persons, or if it be taken in the name of a tribe or family, the heads of it, lay their hands upon its head, and solemnly protest, that they will religiously observe every part of their engagement. The explanation they give of this ceremony is, that the sheep is, in some sense, the mother of all that swear, and the butter is an emblem of the mutual love of the mother and her children; and, consequently, that a man ought never to violate an oath which he hath taken upon the head of his mother [c]. They have given, likewise, some farther marks of their fidelity and good disposition, both at the emperor's court, and in the sundry noblemen's

Good qualities. *Faithfulness.* *Regard for their oaths.*

[a] Lobo, ubi supra, p. 19.
[b] Tellez, Ludolph, Lobo, & al.
[c] Lobo, ubi supra, Voy. ii. p. 24.

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houses, where they had been bred up, and where they proved so tractable and docile, as not to be exceeded even by the Abyssinians themselves. But that which crowns all, if not exaggerated, is, that some of them, who had been converted to Christianity by the Romish missionaries, proved as constant in maintaining it under tortures, as they had been ready to embrace it in words [d].

Zeal of some of their converts.

SECT. III.

The Climate, Soil, Product, Animals wild and tame, Vegetables, Insects, &c. of Abyssinia.

Natural history of Abyssinia.

THIS was one of the countries which the ancients deemed uninhabitable, on account of its being within the torrid zone, where they imagined, not only men and animals, but even trees and vegetables, must be all burned up. This mistake hath been since sufficiently exploded; and this large empire is so irrefragable a proof of the contrary, that though it lies between the 8th and 17th deg. of latitude, yet are we now well assured, that it is so far from being liable to any excessive heat, that it is, for the most part, as cool and temperate as Portugal and Spain; insomuch that, in many provinces, they are quite free from those scorching heats, which rage among more northern nations in the height of summer; or, to speak still more clearly, are more afraid of the cold than heat [e]. This must, however, be understood only of some of their vast mountains and high lands; for, as to the vallies and sandy deserts, they cannot but be excessively, and some times intolerably, hot. Another difference of climate we must likewise suppose of course, in a country of such vast extent, nor only as they draw nearer to the line, but as they lie nearer to or farther from the Red Sea. However, in the main, the country is very pleasant all the rest of the year, the people healthy and sprightly, enjoying a clear and serene sky, and they commonly live to a good old age. They divide the year into four seasons: the spring, called by them matzau, on account of its following the winter; it begins with them on the 25th of September. The summer, named by them szadai, begins in December, and is that in which they gather their harvest. The third season begins in March, and is called by them ha-

Climate.

Difference of winters.

Their four seasons.

[d] Tellez, Almeyda, Alvarez, p. 60, & al. [e] Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, Poncet, & al.

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gain, but though it immediately follows the ſummer, yet can it not be properly called autumn, becauſe it is not that in which they gather their fruits, as here in Europe, but rather the very hotteſt ſeaſon of the whole year. And, therefore, with reſpect to Abyſſinia, the year might be more truly divided into three ſeaſons; namely, ſpring, which begins September 25; ſummer, which may be divided into two parts, the milder of which, named ſzadai, begins on the 25th of December; and the hotteſt, on the 25th of March; and then follows the winter, which begins on the 25th of June. This laſt chiefly conſiſts in violent rains, which lay all the low lands under water.

Winds. As the climates and ſeaſons, differ in this empire, ſo do the winds; ſome, eſpecially on their lofty mountains and high lands, being almoſt conſtantly refreſhing and delightful; others, on the low lands, where the air is leſs agitated, are hot, troubleſome, and unhealthy. At ſome ſeaſons they are violent and ſtormy, particularly one, which they call ſendo, which, in the language of Amhara, ſignifies *a ſerpent*. It blows with ſuch fierceneſs and violence, as to pull up trees by the roots, overturn houſes and every thing, even ſometimes the rocks, which it meets in its way, and even whirls them up into the air. Gregory, the Abyſſinian abbot, affirms, that theſe whirlwinds may been ſeen with the naked eye, the groſſer part of them cloſe to the earth, and the reſt winding itſelf upwards like a ſerpent[f]; but whether viſible or not, it is certain they are felt in many, if not moſt other countries, and in as impetuous a manner, though not perhaps ſo frequently as here.

Whirlwinds.

Thunder and lightning. The great difference of cold and heat between the high and low lands, is likewiſe attended with terrible thunders and lightnings, which very often prove hurtful to men and beaſts, and do great harm to the product of the earth; for theſe are commonly attended with ſuch prodigious rains, as ſeem to threaten a ſecond deluge; at ſuch times, they do not come down in drops, but in torrents, that ſeem to fill the lower atmoſphere: by theſe, the rivers ſwell with ſuch prodigious ſwiftneſs, and to ſuch a degree, that they quickly lay all the low lands under water, and run with ſuch violence, that they ſeem as if they would ſweep all before them. Neither are they like our haſty ſhowers, ſhort and fierce, but laſt the beſt part of three whole months, and make what is called the winter-quarter a-

Exceſſive rains.

[f] Ap. Ludolph, ubi ſupra, lib. i. cap. 5. ſeq. 43.

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mong them; during all which time, there is not a day in which it doth not rain, more or less, in the same plentiful manner: but commonly the mornings are clear, and enjoy such a fine sunshine, that where the waters have a free current, the ground appears as if it had received no rain at all; but soon after mid-day, the clouds gather thick and fast; and an hour or two after, a violent storm arises, mixed with dreadful lightning and thunder, so that the whole atmosphere seems to be turned into fire and water: those that cannot get under some good shelter, run great hazard of their lives from both; for the lightning is no less hurtful and destructive to men, cattle, trees, and houses. This storm commonly lasts three or four hours, more or less; after which the sun shines again on the sudden as clear as ever; and thus it continues to be during the whole winter season: for which reason, they seldom build their houses in low, but always on high ground.

Their inconveniency and danger.

There is another great inconvenience attending these violent and tedious rains, viz. that they make most of their rivers impassable, there being neither bridges nor boats among them to help them over, so that passengers are often confined some considerable time before they can pursue their journey: they have, indeed, in some provinces, a way to convey themselves over by the help of a rope, which they throw across the river, and fasten to some tree, or post, on both sides. Some will venture over upon some rafters, or floats, fastened together, an expedient which is not used without great danger [g].

Unwholsomeness.

But the greatest inconveniency which attends these great and continued rains, is, that they infect the air with a dangerous malignancy; for, falling upon a ground that hath lain dry and quite parched up near nine whole months, they naturally raise such vast quantities of unwholesome vapours, as seldom fail of producing some grievous distempers, from which, even those that keep themselves altogether at home, are seldom exempted [h].

Bad diseases caused by the stagnated waters.

Neither doth the danger end here; for the waters that are left in divers part, begin, with the return of the spring, to corrupt and stink, and cause a fresh infection in the air, and fresh distempers in men and beasts; so that if it were not for these violent stormy winds, which begin to blow early in the spring, the air would be quickly stagnated, and a pestilential disease desolate the whole empire.

[g] Tellez, Ludolph, Lobo, & al. ubi supra, p. 80. Poncet, & al.

[h] Lobo, ubi supra,

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The soil is various, according as the ground is higher or lower, stony, sandy, or flat; but, for the generality, where it can be tilled and well watered, it produces very large crops of wheat, barley, millet, and other grain. The inhabitants have two harvests, which in some measure supply their want of industry. Their trees are crowned with a constant verdure; and, if they labour under a scarcity of fruit, it is rather owing to their negligence, than to any fault of the soil, it being manifest it is capable of bearing as great a variety of them as any country in Africa. The only kinds they cultivate here, are the black grape, peach, sour pomgranate, sugar-canes, almonds, and some citrons and oranges. Roots and herbs they likewise have, which, notwithstanding the heat of the country, grow naturally among them; and more they might have of other kinds, if they were not so idle and incurious.

The soil mostly fertile. *Wheat and other grain.* *Harvest.*

They do not so much as make wine of their grapes, though in all likelihood they would yield a very good kind; whether it be owing to their ignorance, or indolence, or that they prefer those liquors which they draw from their sugar-canes and their honey, which is here very excellent, and in prodigious quantities. They have a kind of fig, among other sorts, which they call ensette, and the Arabs, mauz, which is not unlike the celebrated one that grows in India to a prodigious size, and is that which Mr. Ludolph hath endeavoured to prove the dudaim of Moses; which our's, and other versions, render mandrakes [e].

Make no wine. *Their fruits.*

The chief corn used in this country, as being in some measure natural to it, is a small grain which they call teff, and yields a good nourishment. It is thin and slender, and would make very good and palatable bread, were it but made in a more cleanly way. But this is not the only instance in which the Abyssinians display their slovenliness, for they are so in every thing else, even to a very offensive degree.

Grain most in use.

Their cattle are much better; for though there are neither oats nor hay, yet they have plenty of barley, with which they feed their horses, camels, dromedaries, and other large beasts. Though their low lands produce very good grass, sufficient to nourish vast numbers of cattle; yet, as they do not make any hay, they are obliged to supply that defect with that, or some other sort of grain. Notwithstanding their plentiful crops, they are often re-

Cattle, how fed. *No hay made.*

[e] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, &c.

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duced to a kind of famine, either through the vast swarms of grasshoppers that infest them, or, which is still worse, by the frequent marches of their soldiery from one province to another; the former destroying only what they find growing upon the ground, whereas the latter devour all that is laid up in their storehouses, the inhabitants being obliged to find them in provisions wherever they pass.

Physical, and other plants.

They have not only the same variety of medicinal and odoriferous plants, herbs, and roots, that are to be met with in Europe, which here grow spontaneously, but a great many more, which are unknown to us, all excellent in their kind: amongst them, that which they call amad-magda, is said to have the specific virtue of recovering and healing dislocated or broken limbs, and of drawing out splinters of broken bones that were left in the flesh. The assazoe hath the most singular virtue, not only against all poisons, but against all venomous creatures; insomuch, that the very touching them with it, stupifies and deprives them of sense; and what is still more surprising, if not exaggerated, the very shadow, or scent of it, drives away the most poisonous serpents, or so benumbs them, that they may be handled, or killed, without danger. Those that eat of the root, we are told, acquire such special virtue from it, that they may handle, or wallow naked with, all sorts of serpents, without receiving any hurt [f], which virtue they retain for some years. This extraordinary plant is so much the greater blessing in these parts, as, we are told, they have some kinds of serpents that kill by their breath, at three or four yards distance: they are short, and thick about the middle, and have a wide mouth, at which they suck in a great quantity of air at once, and then breathe it out in as great a quantity, and with such force, against the man or beast they intend to kill, that they seldom fail of effecting their purpose [g].

The amad-magda.

Assazoe, its singular virtue against serpents.

Cotton, sena, and other plants.

Besides the plant above mentioned, the country produces great quantities of sena; whole plains are seen covered with cardamom and ginger; the last of which hath a most agreeable scent, and is four times as large as that of India. Here is also plenty of cotton, which grows on shrubs, like the Indian [h]. Flowers are here, likewise, in vast quantities, and surprising variety; insomuch, that the banks of their rivers are adorned, the greatest part of the year, with jasmins, roses, lilies, jonquils, and a vast num-

[f] Tellez, Almeyda, Ludolph, lib. i. cap. 9. Poncet, & al.
[g] Vide Lobo Relation, ubi sup. p. 116, & seq. [h] Poncet, p. 65.

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ber of other kinds, which are unknown in Europe; among these is the rose, which grows upon trees, and is much more odoriferous than any that grow upon shrubs.

Domestic and other animals in great plenty.

There is scarce any country that produces greater quantities, or variety of animals, both domestic and wild, than this of Abyssinia: among the former, horses, mules, asses, camels, dromedaries, oxen, cows, sheep, and goats, are bred in vast numbers, they being the principal wealth of its inhabitants; and a stranger cannot but be delightfully surprised to see the vast herds of stately cows and oxen grazing in the fields, especially in the kingdoms of Tigre, Gojam, and some others of the empire; their fat oxen, in particular, are of so monstrous a size, that they have been mistaken, at a distance, for elephants; whence the notion came, that this country bred horned elephants: these horns are so large, as to contain above ten quarts of liquor, and are used by the people instead of pitchers, or wooden vessels, to carry water, milk, or other liquids; and four of them full, are a load for an ordinary ox. But besides these large ones, that are fatted for slaughter, and have the milk of three or four cows given them every day, they have an ordinary sort, designed for labour and carriage, whose horns are soft and flexible. Neither doth it yield a less delightful prospect, to behold the sheep, goats, and other small cattle, browsing at a distance, and covering the adjacent monntains and steep rocks, where they feed upon such aromatic herbs, as give a particular flavour and taste to their milk and their flesh.

Fine breed of horses.

They have likewise here some of the finest breeds of horses, of all colours and sizes, and as sprightly and mettlesome as those which are bred in Andaluzia, and other parts of Spain. They are commonly used for war only, and must be led by the bridle over the mountains and defiles; but on the plains they are mounted, and run very swift. Their saddles are very light, like those of our managed horses, only rising a little higher both before and behind; their stirrup-leather is commonly long, but the stirrups are small, as being formed for the reception of the rider's great toe only.

Way of riding.

Mules.

Instead of horses, for long marches, they make use of mules, which are commonly very gentle and sure-footed. These they train up to an easy, yet quick pace, and they are most commonly preferred to horses by the Abyssinians, not only on that account, but much more out of regard to their own pedigree; for, as they boast themselves to be descended from the Jews, whose princes, and great men, are

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are recorded in scripture to have chiefly rode upon mules, so they count it an honour to use the same beast, and to have their horses led by the bridle, till some martial engagement obliges them to mount [z].

Camels and dromedaries. The last domestic animals worth naming, are the camels and dromedaries, which are likewise bred up in great numbers, on account of their extreme usefulness for carrirge, and long journies, through those hot and barren deserts: but as these differ little, either in shape or use, from those we have described in our general account of Africa, we shall refer our readers to what has been said there of them. There is one sort, however, which, though of the camel kind, yet is well worth our notice; they call it giratacacheme, or *slender end*, on account of its uncommon shape, it being much taller than the elephant, but as finely and slenderly made, as that is clumsy and unwieldy; insomuch, that a man on horseback may easily pass under his belly: the common height of its fore-legs is reckoned about twelve spans, or four yards; but that of the hinder somewhat shorter. The neck is proportionable, and long enough to reach to the ground, and graze, grass being its proper food, and the whole, in most respects, answerable to the description which the ancients give of the camelo-pardus.

The camelo-pardus.

Elephants, all wild here. Among the animals of the wild kind, the elephant deserves our first notice, as they breed here in such prodigious numbers; and yet none of them were ever known to be brought up tame in the whole empire; for which reason, we may justly rank them among the wild kind, though they are of a different nature in several countries we have seen through the course of this history: however, they seem quite natural to this climate, or rather, a native nuisance to the country, by the dreadful havock they make among the corn, and other grain, of which they destroy ten times more with their large feet, than with their mouths. They root up large trees, and break small ones, to feed on their leaves; by which practice in time they destroy whole forests, as they commonly go in large droves, from fifty to a hundred. The food they relish most, is that of a tree, not unlike our cherries, full of pith, like our alder, but of a delicious taste. Their size is so monstrous, that a man, mounted on a tall mule, cannot reach their back by some spans [a]. The next is the rhinoceros, a creature of monstrous bulk and

[z] Tellez, Ludolph, Dapper.

[a] Lobo, ubi supra, p. 69. Tellez, Ludolph, & al.

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make, and a mortal enemy to the elephant: but this creature hath been likewise described already; and though most of the Portuguese writers affirm it to be a native of this empire, yet we do not meet with any that pretend to have seen it there; from which we may conclude, that they may be as scarce as the elephants are numerous. *Rhinoceros scarce.*

Lions are here likewise in great numbers, and very destructive and dangerous: they have them of several sorts and sizes, and particularly those that are styled of the kingly or royal breed. As they do a great deal of mischief among the large cattle, the Abyssinians are no less industrious and adventurous in destroying them, and will even encounter them with their lances, or with a dagger [a]; for that noble animal, fierce as it is amongst other brutes, will not encounter a man, except he be assaulted by him, or greatly pinched with hunger. They are so large, that some, which have been killed by the inhabitants, have measured eight cubits in length, from neck to tail, particularly one in the kingdom of Tigre, near Maegoga, anno 1630, which was destroyed by a shepherd in the open field, with his dart: this fierce creature was coming down from the mountains, all covered with the blood of the many creatures it had seized and torn in pieces, when the shepherd seeing him at a good distance making towards him, took that interval to dig a great hole in the ground, and upon his approaching within reach of his weapon, he threw it at him with such force, that it pierced him through the shoulder: the monster, after many dreadful roars and leaps, fell luckily into the pit, where he was dispatched by the victorious countryman, not without great danger and difficulty. We shall say nothing of their tigers, leopards, wolves, foxes, various kinds of apes, and other beasts of prey; which, though numerous, fierce, and mischievous, have nothing particular in this, from those of other hot countries. Many of the Portuguese authors affirm the famed unicorn to have been seen in some parts of the empire, particularly in the kingdom of Damot, and territories of the Agaus, which are both woody countries; but add, that its flight from one wood to another is so swift, that they had not time enough to examine its shape and appearance; which, however, they ventured to describe. *Lions large and numerous.* *Killed by the Abyssinians.*

The wild mule, or, as some falsely call it, ass, and the Abyssinians, zeora or zecora, is also a native of this em- *The zecora, or wild mule.*

[a] See Lobo Voy. ii. p. 69. Tellez, Ludolph, lib. i. cap. 10.

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pire. The Gallas are now possessed of the countries where it mostly breeds: it is, however, so much admired for its beautiful shape, colour, and stripes, that kings and emperors look upon them as presents fit for them, especially as they can, it seems, be easily tamed, though naturally wild: two thousand sequins have been given for one of them by an Indian Moor, in order to carry it to the great mogul [b]. The wild ass hath been often confounded with the zecora, though it be different from it, as it hath horns, and cloven hoofs, like the deer kind: it commonly hath a white streak, that comes down from its buttocks to its hams: its furr is harsh, and of an ash colour; its flesh tender, and good to eat. There is another much of the same kind, but with a dark brown skin, very smooth; its legs are much shorter behind than before, and yet it is much swifter of foot than a buck. We shall conclude this article of wild animals, with the description of a singular one, which we shall give in the author's own words. "This extraordinary animal, as he styles it, is no bigger than one of our cats, and hath the face of a man, with a white beard, and its voice mournful; it always keeps upon a tree, and it is there brought forth, and there it dies. It is so very wild, that there is no possibility of taming it: when they have caught one of them, with a design to bring it up, all the care they can take of it, cannot prevent its pining to death: they shot one of them in my presence, which clung fast to the branch of the tree, twining its legs about it, and died some days after [c]."

Wild ass.

Crocodile and hippopotamus.

Among the amphibious kind, the crocodile and hippopotamus, or sea-horse, are the largest, and the most destructive to man and beast. The Nile is, as it were, their nursery, from which they make their excursions into the adjacent lands, and destroy all that come in their way; but, as they are likewise common in Egypt, where we have already given a description of the former, we shall refer our readers to it. The latter, or sea-horse, is twice as large as an ox, and hath a head near three times as big as that of a bull: its legs are short; the fore-feet, or hoofs, divided into five clefts, and the hinder into four: its skin is sleek, hard, and of a dark brown; the jaws are wide, and full of teeth, and from the under one come out four fangs, near two spans in length; two of them

[b] Jesuits Travels, lib. i. cap 7. vide & Ludolph, & al. sup. citat.
[c] Poncet, Voyage to Ethiop. p. 66.

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are sharp and strait, and the other two crooked, like the tusks of a wild boar: some describe him with the same number in his upper jaw, but without any foundation, unless these of Ethiopia differ, in that respect, from those of Egypt, and other countries. His head is the only part which hath any resemblance to that of a horse, having a white streak, which comes down between his nostrils, and a white star on the forehead: he spends the day commonly in the water, and the night on land, where he hath his pasture. He attacks all that comes in his way; and as he is very clumsy and large, destroys as much with his feet as he doth with his rapacious mouth. Like the elephant he not only devours, but tramples all down, grass, corn, herbs, roots, Turky wheat, and all that the poor inhabitants had sown for their subsistence; but what is still more terribly destructive, he stifles both man and beast that come under the reach of his claws, with his huge weight, and sucks only the blood out of their bodies, leaving the rest to rot on the ground, or to become a prey to crocodiles, and other voracious creatures[d]: yet is he of so fearful a nature, that he flies at the sight of an armed man, and is terrified at fire, or fire-arms. He is much more bold in the water, where he will attack boats and barges, and often overturns them; especially the females, when they come to have colts, at which time they part from all the rest, and keep solely to them, and attack all that come in their way: at other times, they keep with the male; and it is as common to find one of them with many females, as with us to see a bull among many cows; yet so jealous are they, that one never sees two males together in one herd. They are often troubled with a kind of cramp, or gout, in their limbs; at which time they have no power to defend themselves, but lie flat upon the ground, with one of their fore-feet under their belly, and exhibit all the tokens of acute pain. At such times it is that the inhabitants destroy them, chiefly for their teeth, which are of a finer white, and retain it much longer, than any ivory: they likewise esteem their left hoofs, as a sovereign remedy against melancholy. Their skin, bones, fat, and almost every part of them, is turned to some advantage. Their hide, which is smooth, and near two inches thick, is proof against any weapons; so that there is but one small

Subject to the gout.

White teeth more valuable than ivory.

Skin proof against weapons.

[d] See Ludolph, lib. i. cap. 10. Maillet Descript. of Egypt, vol. ii. p. 126, & al. mult.

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spot on its forehead at which it may be wounded: the hide of one of them, they say, is a sufficient load for three or four camels, and a man that stands upright in the belly of one of them, can hardly touch the back bone with his hand. We do not find, however, that any Nubians, Abyssinians, or people of any other nations, ever caught one of them alive, or ever could discover any creature that is its mortal enemy, as the ichneumon, or water-cat, is to the crocodile; the sword-fish, to the whale; or the ibis, to the flying serpent. Finally, the hippopotamus is distinguished by a roar so loud and hideous that all other animals are said to tremble at the sound [e].

The water lizard.

To this we shall only add the water-lizard, called by the natives angueg, and by the Italians caudiverbera, from the vast strength and keenness of its tail, with which, they tell us, that creature, which is scarely bigger, and more slender, than a cat, can cut a man's leg off at one blow: its skin is smooth and without hair, its aspect foul and frightful; it feeds on the grass, when it gets out of the water; and Mr. Ludolph's Gregory gives it the shape and form of a dragon, whatever he meant by that name [f].

Fishes plentiful.

The torpedo.

Here is likewise great plenty and variety of fish, both in their large lakes and rivers. The famed torpedo, or torpid fish, is frequently caught in both, and affirmed to be of so cold a nature, that it conveys an immediate chilness and numbness into the blood of every one who but barely touches it; insomuch, that the inhabitants make use of it to allay the excessive heat which they suffer under some of those burning fevers which are so very frequent in most parts of this empire. The Abyssinians apply it in the cure of tertian and quartan agues; though the application causes such excruciating pains in all the limbs of the patient, that they are forced to tie him fast to a board all the time: they are even superstitious enough to think it an efficacious remedy to drive devils away [g]. However, as to its strange chilling quality, several Portuguese fathers have confirmed it by their own experience; and add, that the pain that follows the touch is instantaneous, and almost intolerable.

[e] Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, Maillet, & al. plur. [f] Ludolph lib. i. cap. 11. Tellez, Dapper, & al. vide & Bochart, lib. iv. cap. 3. [g] Ludolph, lib. i. cap. 11. § 13. & seq. Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, & al.

This

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This country produces the oſtrich, the largeſt and moſt unwieldy of all the bird kind, which, though its feathers are not able to raiſe it from the ground, yet by the ſtrength of them, and the motion of its feet, can move with greater ſwiftneſs than the fleeteſt horſe at his full ſpeed. We have formerly given ſome account of this ſtrange bird, and of the manner of catching it, as well as of the ibis, or bird which deſtroys thoſe innumerable flying ſerpents, which annoy this country at ſome times of the year, and would ſoon reduce it to a wilderneſs, if the Divine Providence had not appointed that beneficial race to deſtroy them. This bird is more properly a native of Egypt, but is no leſs a benefactor to Abyſſinia, in clearing it from ſo deſtructive a plague; for which ſervice, he is called in the Amharan language, the ſerpent-eater. *Oſtriches.* *Ibis, or ſerpent-eater.*

The pipi, ſo called from its conſtant uttering thoſe two ſyllables, hath an admirable inſtinct in directing huntſmen to their game, and will not leave them till they follow them to the place where it lies; but they muſt take care to be well armed; for it often leads them to ſome fierce wild beaſt, or monſtrous creature. This extraordinary bird, it ſeems, chiefly lives upon the blood, or fleſh, of thoſe creatures that are thus killed by its direction. *Pipi, or hunter's guide.*

The abagun, or ſtately abbot, as that name imports, is in ſome meaſure peculiar to this country, it being found no where but here and in Peru. It is only remarkable for its beauty, and for a kind of horn growing on its head, which is ſhort, round, and divided at the upper end like a mitre [h]. The feitan, favez, or the devil's horſe, reſembles a man armed with feathers, commonly walks with a majeſtic gravity, or runs with ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs; but when too cloſely purſued, expands his wings, and flies away. Its height is near that of a ſtork, but its ſhape more genteel and beautiful. That which they call the cardinal, from the beautiful redneſs of all its feathers, except thoſe on its breaſt, which appear of the colour and ſmooth gloſs of the fineſt black velvet, is another of the charming birds that are natives of this country; as is alſo that which they call the white nightingale, with a tail of the ſame colour, about two ſpans long, which, when it flies, looks like a white piece of paper faſtened to its rump [i]. *Stately abagun.* *The devil's horſe.* *Cardinal.* *White nightingale.*

Their partridges are ſaid to be as big as our capons, and they have ſeveral kinds of them, as well as of pigeons, turtle-doves, and a great number of others. We ſhall con- *Large partridges.*

[h] Ludolph, ibid. § 12, & ſeq. [i] Lobo, Relat. p. 71.

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clude this article with one species of the volatile kind, which seems peculiar, as well as of singular use, to this country. It is the maroc, or honey-bird, so called from its particular instinct in discovering the hidden treasure of the industrious bees, of which they have also a great variety; some of which are domestic, and kept in hives, others which lay up their honey in hollow trees, and a third sort which hide it in small holes and caverns in the ground, which they take surprising care to cleanse for their use, and afterwards stop them so close and so artfully, that it is next to impossible to find them out, though they mostly lie along the highways. This last, though of somewhat a darker colour than that of the hives, is not inferior to it in goodness; and it is this kind that the maroc discovers to the inhabitants, by an unusual noise and fluttering of its wings, which, when perceived by the passenger, he has nothing to do but follow him to the place, where the feathered guide takes up a more delicious note, and pursues it till his man hath taken possession of the hidden store; in the plundering which, he takes care to leave behind a small quantity to his songster, it being the chief food he lives upon. These last kind of bees are in the greatest plenty; and, we are told, their being deprived of the sting, which the others are provided with, by the wise Author of nature, is the reason of their thus laying it up safe under ground: its wax is much whiter, and fitter for chirurgical applications, as well as the honey is for physical compositions [k].

Maroc, or honey bird.

Plenty of honey laid up under ground by one sort of bees.

To counterbalance these, and other blessings we have already mentioned, they are not without a portionable variety of obnoxious animals, serpents, and insects, equally hurtful; among which, we may place in the first rank, those devouring and frequent swarms of locusts, which, in one season, leave whole kingdoms and provinces desolate. This country being extremely mountainous and rocky, is so much the more apt to breed them; accordingly they come like very thick clouds, which cover the whole surface of the earth, and even eclipse the light of the sun at noon-day. Their teeth are so sharp and hard, that they not only devour every blade of grass, and the leaves of the trees and bushes, but also the wood of the small twigs, and even the bark of the largest trees; so that the sad effects of them are felt sometimes for two or three years after. They commonly range the whole

Locusts very destructive.

[k] Tellez, Almeyda, Ludolph, Lobo, & al. plur.

season,

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season, shifting from place to place till about their Michaelmas tide, which they celebrate in the month of November; about which time, a westerly wind begins to blow, which drives them into the Red Sea[1]. Not but that the Abyssinians have found means to convert even these insects into a species of nourishment (A). Nevertheless, the devastations they make are so terrible and universal, that whole kingdoms and provinces become depopulated; and the inhabitants, being obliged by the famine which they commonly leave behind, to remove into others for subsistence, where they appear, at their arrival, more like ghosts than men, having nothing left but the bare skin upon their bones, and being scarcely able to crawl or speak. What is still more deplorable, this famine is commonly attended with some pestilential distemper, no less destructive than those which, as we lately hinted, are caused by the stagnated waters, after their violent and continued winter rains.

Depopulate whole provinces.

SECT. IV.

Of the several People and Nations that inhabit the Abyssinian Empire; their Complexion, Features, Genius, Disposition, Arts, Trades and Occupations, Dress, Food, Drink, and other Customs.

HAving now particularized the several climates and soils of this country, and given an account of its chief products, vegetable and animal, we come now to describe the various people that inhabit it, whom, for distinction sake, we

The various nations inhabiting this empire.

[1] Lobo, ubi supra, p. 81, 86. Tellez, Almeyda, & al. vide & Ludolph, lib. i. cap. 13. pass.

(A) They have, it seems, found out several ways of destroying, and dressing them for food. As soon as they see them coming at a distance, the whole country rises up in arms against them: they knock them down with flat wooden or leather weapons, not unlike our butchers flie-flaps, but larger and heavier in proportion: and as they fly in such thick swarms, the ground is soon covered with their carcases, which they sweep up in heaps, about three or four feet high: to some of these they set fire, which burns their legs and wings, and parboils the rest of their flesh, which is now become such a delicious morsel with them, that after they have eaten

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we shall at present in general divide only into Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, and Gentiles, without entering into any particulars about their respective religions, which will be better seen in a subsequent section. By the Christians, we chiefly mean, not only those of the Abyssinian church, who are the principal natives of the country, but those the Roman missionaries brought over to their communion, of whom, we are told, there are great numbers scattered about, notwithstanding the grievous persecutions that have been raised against them and their teachers [n]. The Jews have been settled in this empire from time immemorial, exclusive of those who are said to have come hither from Palestine, with Menileck, the son whom the queen of Sheba had by Solomon. These looked upon themselves as natives of the empire, and were settled in Dembea, Vegora, and Samen, where they defended themselves for a long series of ages, in some of the most strong and rocky parts, till they were at length dislodged and driven from thence by the emperor Susneus, commonly called soltan Segued. Of these ancient Jews, many embraced Christianity, from the earliest times of its being propagated in this empire, a circumstance that lessened their number considerably: since which time the empire has been dismembered by the Gallas; and vast numbers of the Abyssinians having been slain, and the rest so severely handled by the emperor, that many of them fled into other countries. Others were obliged to embrace Christianity, and lived comfortably there, by their several trades, some by weaving, others by making darts, javelins, ploughs, and other iron instruments of husbandry and war, they being reckoned the best workmen in the whole empire; by which means their number is very much decreased to what they were even in the twelfth century [o]; and those that remain, are forced, for the most part, to reside in the inaccessible and mountainous parts of the country. Neither

Jews anciently settled here.

Persecuted by soltan Segued.

Embrace Christianity.

Exercise trades.

[n] De his, vide Tellez, Almeyda, Alvares, Coding. Lobo, Ludolph, Jarrik, Dam. de Goez, le Grand, & al. [o] Ben. de Tudela Itinerar.

eaten their fill of them, they strew the rest with salt, and preserve it for future food. Others dry them only in the sun, and preserve them for use; and having pounded them in a mortar, make a kind of thick spoon-meat of them (1).

(1) Lobo, Relat. ii. p. 81, & 86. vide & al. supra citat.

hath

hath their extreme indigence and miſery been capable of making them forget, or ſet aſide, their ancient diſtinction of Caraites and Talmudiſts, which they retain with the utmoſt zeal and inveteracy (B).

The others keep their old diſtinction.

Next to the Jews are the Mohammedans, diſperſed through the whole empire, in ſuch numbers, that they are reckoned to make up near one-third part of the inhabitants of the Abyſſinian empire, yet live friendly and quietly with the Chriſtians, with whom they are every where intermixed. Many of theſe apply themſelves to agriculture and farming; but thoſe that make the greateſt figure, and get the moſt riches, are the factors: for ſince the Turks have deprived the Abyſſinians of their ſea-ports on the Red Sea, they allow not any of the Chriſtians to reſort thither for commerce, ſo that the Muſſulmans have engroſſed it wholly into their own hands; and whatever gold, and other commodities are exported, muſt be conveyed thither by the Mohammedans; who there exchange them for ſilks, ſtuffs, and other merchandizes, which they ſell at a very high price. As they are not over-conſcientious, in making the greateſt gain of this traffic with the Chriſtians, they quickly grow immoderately rich by this factorſhip [P].

Mohammedans very numerous.

Engroſs the whole commerce and riches of the empire.

The Gentiles, who inhabit ſeveral conſiderable parts of this empire, are chiefly the Gallas, ſome tribes of whom

Gentiles inhabiting part of this empire.

[P] Tellez, Alvarez, Ludolph, et al. ſupra citat.

(B) There is ſtill a third ſort of them, we are told, who inhabit ſome parts of the Abyſſinian frontiers, between them and the Caffres, who dwell along the Nile: theſe own no dependence to the emperors, but are a kind of republic of themſelves, and are ſuppoſed to be deſcended either from thoſe whom the kings of Aſſyria and Babylon carried away captive, or from thoſe who diſperſed themſelves over the world, or were ſold by Titus Veſpaſian, after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem. On which account they were never incorporated with thoſe that came hither with Menileck, the ſon of Solomon, king of Iſrael, but looked upon as aliens, and bear to this day that epithet, being called Salaxa, *ſtrangers* or *exiles*. They retain ſtill their Hebrew Bibles, though in the corrupt Talmudic dialect, and have their ſynagogues like the reſt; but their worſhip and ſinging is performed, in a more careleſs and ſlovenly manner, if poſſible, than it is amongſt the others (1).

(1) Ludolph, lib. i. cap. 14. Travels of the Jeſuits, lib. i. cap. 8, et al. ubi ſupra.

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the emperor suffered to settle in his dominions, in order to make use of them against those of the same nation, who have seized on so great a part of his empire; and the Agaus, settled in the kingdoms of Bagameder and Gojam; in the former of which, their territories, which are called Lasta, are so mountainous, rocky, and full of inaccessible passes, that they could never be subdued, but have been able to maintain themselves in it against the united forces of the emperor. Those of the kingdom of Gojam inhabit likewise a large territory, about twenty leagues in length, and about seven or eight in breadth, very rocky and mountainous, though nothing like that of Lasta. It is divided into about twenty districts, each under its particular head: the inhabitants are stout and fierce, and have their habitations along the Nile. Their mountains abound in provisions, and are full of thick woods and bamboos, which grow likewise so close, that they serve them instead of ramparts and trenches against their enemies. Through these, they cut such strait and narrow ways, and with such variety of turnings and windings, that one would take them for some spacious labyrinths. Within these they intrench themselves in time of war, at about a mile distance from the entrance, which they take care to stop, as well as all the avenues and ways, by laying large trees across them. These close thickets they call scutes, or secutes; being thoroughly acquainted with all their avenues, they sally out like so many wild beasts, and with their bows and arrows make a dreadful havock among all that venture to attack them [q]. But besides these kind of out-works, they have their subterranea, or *deep caverns*, some in the solid rock, others under ground, supposed to be the work of nature, equally strong and difficult of access; the entrance of them is very narrow, but the inside spacious and convenient; and in some of them they have springs of good water, for their own and their cattle's drinking. In these they commonly live in time of war; in them they keep their hoards of millet, barley, and other grain, together with their cattle and families, whilst the enemy is on their frontiers; and from these they make their sallies and armed excursions upon them, through the crooked and intricate paths and defiles, through which it is next to impossible to pursue them in their retreat.

The Agaus, their high situation and intrenchments.

Excursions on all invaders.

[q] Travels of the Jesuits, lib. i. cap. 8. § iii. cap. 5. Ludolph, et al.

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We know little of their religion, except that they are addicted to many superstitious customs; and to some kinds of sorcery. They have great plenty of honey, of which they make a pleasant liquor; and abundance of cattle, on the milk and flesh of which they live, much after the manner of the Gallas. Their cloathing is no other than the skins of those beasts, which they beat with large heavy clubs, till they have brought them to a sufficient thinness and pliability; these they thrown over their bodies, and tie about their middle, without any other garment. They are commonly of a very dark complexion, though not quite black like the Negroes, and, for the most part, tall and well shaped, stout, and warlike, yet far from the rapacious temper of the Gallas, and other neighbouring invaders, living contented within their territories, more solicitous to preserve them from invasion than to make encroachments: by which means they have been able to defend themselves against the freebooting Caffres on the one side, and from the imperial forces on the other, from time immemorial; though they have been since forced to submit to the superior arms of sultan Segued, a warlike prince, who not only subdued them to his obedience, but obliged them to embrace Christianity, about the year 1614. We shall say nothing of the Gafates, and some other interior heathen nations, dispersed through other provinces of this empire, concerning which, we find little else mentioned by our authors, except their names, and the part they have acted in some of the wars, or other transactions that are to be met with in their history, without any farther particulars relating to them, worth our readers notice.

Way of living.

Dress.

Bravery.

Subdued and converted.

Other Gentiles.

Among such a variety of nations, and such a number of kingdoms and provinces, there must be supposed a proportionate variety of languages, the major part of which are wholly unknown to us. The Jews speak a kind of Hebrew, but as corrupt as is their religion and morals. The Moors use their own Arabic, but no less short of the purity of that ancient tongue. Every nation, province, and almost district, hath its own dialect: that which is in use at court, is the dialect of the kingdom of Amhara, but is spoken, more or less corruptly, in other provinces: that of the kingdom of Tigre, however, comes nearest to the old Ethiopic, which was forced to give place to that of Amhara, after the failure of the Zugean line, though it had been time out of mind the current language

Languages.

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Ethiopic the learned language. In use in their liturgies, sacred books, &c.

guage of Ethiopia. The ancient Ethiopic still retains its pristine dignity, and is still in use, not only in all their religious and learned books, but also in the king's letters patent, and all their records[r].

This character and language is by them still styled Lesbona Geez, which may be properly enough translated, *the learned language*. It is, or should be, understood at least by all their bishops and clergymen; though the generality of those of the latter sort think themselves sufficiently versed in it, if they can but read and perform their clerical functions. Both they and their greatest dignitaries are not only very ignorant, but very zealous to continue so; thinking it both useless and dangerous, either to hold any disputes with those that are of a different church or opinion, and even to read any of their books; and that it is sufficient for them implicitly to adhere to all the articles and rites of their own, as we shall farther shew, when we come to speak of their religion. As for arts and sciences, or any branches of what we call polite literature, one may as well look for it among the Caffres, and other wild Africans, as either among their clergy or laity.

The Abyssinians tall and handsome.

The Abyssinians in general, both priests and people, have a very good character given them by most Portuguese and other writers. They are commonly well made, though of a brown olive complexion: they are generally tall; their features well proportioned, their eyes large, and of a sparkling black, their noses rather high than flat, their lips small, and their teeth extremely white and handsome, unlike the inhabitants of Senaar or Nubia, who have flat noses, thick lips, and a complexion of a very deep black[s]. With respect to their inward disposition, we are told they are a sober, temperate people, naturally inclined to virtue and piety. They seem quite averse to all kind of cruelty, and would in all likelihood have continued hospitable to strangers, had not the Portuguese exasperated them into an equal abhorrence of all Franks or Europeans[t]. They seldom have any quarrels one with another; if they have, and their anger rises to any height, as it sometimes happens on particular occasions, or when they have drank a little too plentiful of

Naturally sober and good natured.

[r] Tellez, Ludolph, et al. ubi supra. [s] Tellez, Almeyda, Pays, Lobo, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat. Poncet, p. 90. Fr. edit. & 70. Engl. [t] Guerreiro, Ann. Relat. 1607, 1608. p. 38.

wine,

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wine, or sava, which is a kind of ale, made of barley-flour, mixed with some intoxicating drugs, they never decide it by the sword, but, at the most, by cuffs and cudgelling; as soon as their heat is allayed, by the intervention of cooler reason, to which they are ready to give a listening ear, they immediately submit to an arbitration, or lay the whole matter before the ruler of the place. Here they are allowed to plead their own cause by word of mouth; and when judgment is once given, whether by the judge or the arbitrator, they faithfully stand to it, without murmuring, or appeal: by which excellent method they save a great deal of time, charge, and discontent, and are quickly rid of all the other anxieties that constantly attend our law-suits (C). *Disputes and quarrels quickly decided.*

They are naturally docile, and fond of knowlege, which, was one of the main motives that induced them to give the Jesuit missionaries so kind a reception at their first coming: and if there is not more learning found amongst them, it is rather for want of proper means, than of capacity of attaining it, especially since they are so hemmed in on all sides, that they cannot venture out of their country without imminent danger, nor receive any strangers amongst them on the same account. But the most esteemed of all the subjects of this large empire, for sense, ingenuity, courage, equity, and other social virtues, are those of the kingdom of Enarrea, which is one of the last conquests of the Abyssinian monarchs. *Genius for learning.*

The Abyssinians, in general, are naturally religious, even to a high degree of bigotry and superstition; great frequenters of their divine worship, devotees to their numerous saints, strict observers of their fastings and long lents. They behave with great respect and modesty, not only towards their clergy, but more especially in their *The genius and disposition of the Abyssinians.*

(C) From this applause, however, we must exclude those of the kingdom of Tigre, who commonly indulge their resentment to go a much greater length, especially in case of bloodshed; in which, not only the nearest relations, but all the kindred of the deceased, live for years together in open emity to the slayer, and all his family. If we may believe the accounts which the missionaries give us of them, they are of a fickle, unsteady temper, cruel, treacherous, and vindictive, equally ready to break, as to take, the most solemn oaths; to swear allegiance, and rebel, against their lawful princes (5).

(5) Jesuits Travels, lib. i. cap. 8.

churches,

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churches, which they never enter but with their bare feet; on which account the pavement is commonly covered with carpets, or something equivalent: during divine service, they are never heard to speak or whisper to each other, to blow their noses, nor even to turn their heads on one side. They are denied entrance, if they neglect to appear clean and neat, both in their bodies and dress.

Decent behaviour at church.

They pay great regard to relics and all kind of religious imagery, of which they have great variety, both in their churches and domestic oratories; such as crucifixes, pictures and statues of the Virgin Mary, and all their saints. They even affect to wear their little images about them by way of ornament, as well as devotion; and a present of this nature is more regarded amongst them, than one of a far more intrinsic value[u]. Their very women affect to mix these superstitious ornaments among those which are most peculiar to their sex and different ranks; the meanest, among their trinkets; and those of quality, among their finest jewels. The latter usually go gorgeously dressed in the richest silks and brocades; their upper garments are wide and full, not unlike our church surplices. They attire their heads and hair a hundred different ways, and take care to have their ears adorned with the richest pendants. They spare no cost to embellish their necks with the most costly ornaments of chains, jewels, and other embellishments[w]: and in these vanities they are the less to be wondered at, as they indulge themselves in a much greater liberty of going abroad and visiting, than is allowed to the Turkish and other ladies of this part of the world; who, though mostly confined at home, and seeing none but their husbands and slaves, yet are no less curious and lavish to shew themselves to them in the most advantageous and richest attire. The habit of men of quality is a long fine vest, either of silk or cotton, tied about the middle with a rich scarf: that of the citizens is much the same, but of cotton only, they not being allowed to wear silk. The common people have only a pair of cotton drawers, and a kind of scarf, or piece of the same linen, with which they cover the rest of their body. Till about a century ago, this was the common dress of all the country, none but the emperor and royal family, and some distinguished favourites, were allowed to wear any other; and that piece of

Regard for their saints, relics, and images.

Their women enjoy great liberty.

Their dress.

The peculiar privileges of the women.

The habit of the men.

[u] Poncet, et al. sup. citat. [w] Tellez, Ludolph.

cloth

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cloth served them at night for a blanket. The women are permitted to appear abroad, and visit their friends and relations. How they came by such an uncommon privilege in this, above all eastern countries, we cannot find; one may plainly perceive, however, that their husbands are not pleased with it; and rather bear with it only as an ill habit, against which they can find no remedy.

Women of quality dishonourable to their husbands.

It is still harder with those who have married princesses of the royal blood, who stretch their privileges much farther, and think no gallantries, how injurious soever to their honour, ought to be denied to them: in which liberties they are so far upheld by their own relations, that all complaints against them will not only be in vain, but be taken very ill [x]. Those of inferior rank, excepting these gadding excursions, are generally very observing and faithful to their husbands, especially among the meaner sort. The women perform some of the most laborious offices of the family; such, as that of grinding the corn; for as they have no mills, they are forced to grind all things by hand, whether it be for bread or for drink; and this operation must be repeated every day, because what is made one day will be good for nothing by the next.

Lower class of women grind corn for the family.

Have none but hand-mills.

Marriage abused among them.

In their marriages they are so scrupulous as to forbid it to persons in the second, third, and even fourth degree of consanguinity. They allow marriage to be of divine institution; and give it even the title of sacrament; and think it unlawful for a man to have more than one wife at once. Neither do they allow any marriage to be lawful, unless the persons have been joined by a priest: and yet there are numbers of them that have a plurality of wives, and live with them unmolested. Such are, indeed, deprived by the church of the benefit of the holy communion, on account of the scandal it brings to religion: but the state, not deeming polygamy detrimental to society, suffer it to go unmolested.

Polygamy tolerated by the state.

Divorce is reckoned unlawful, except in case of breach of conjugal fidelity; and yet nothing is more commonly practised amongst them, even where no such plea is so much as pretended. Nay, we are even told that, till the arrival of the missionaries, they used to contract their marriages in such a manner, and with such reserves, as they thought would render them invalid, and open a

Divorces why so frequent.

[x] Id. ibid. vide et Lobo ubi supra, p. 73.

door

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How obtained. door for such divorces; that is, on condition that they should part from each other, whensoever they found that they could not mutually agree; and they even gave each other some security for the performance of this article. The principal motive for these divorces, besides that allowed by the Gospel, were want of children, or strife about them, a mutual dislike or disagreement, bodily infirmities, and lingering sickness; in all which cases the woman hath the same privilege of abrogating the marriage contract with the man. The dissatisfied party, in such cases, applies first to the abuna, or *patriarch*, or to their bishop; and having obtained the desired divorce, which is seldom denied, if the party cannot be prevailed upon to withdraw his or her suit, he next petitions for a licence for contracting a fresh marriage, and obtains it with the same ease; even where the reasons alleged are so frivolous, that the prelate cannot admit of them, they may have recourse to some inferior priest, of a more pliable nature, who will make no difficulty to marry them; in which case they are only liable to be excluded from the sacred communion for some time, more or less. These divorces are, therefore, as frequent as they are easily obtained, among married people, especially those of the richer sort; whilst, with regard to the grand motive, the breach of fidelity on either side, they find often a gentler way of salving that sore, by some fine, or present, equivalent to the wrong, or at least such as the wronged party deems to be such: for married people, it seems, have here their own lands, goods, and chattels, in proprio, and so can make a suitable compensation for the transgression [y]. But where such a composition cannot be agreed on betwixt the injurer and injured, the woman is commonly the most severely punished of the two, and in a way that is something singular; for first she is condemned to the loss of all her goods, and to go out of her husband's house in a mean or ragged dress, with an express prohibition never to come into it again. 2. All that she is allowed to carry out with her is a sewing needle, by which she may get a livelihood. 3. Sometimes she is condemned to lose her chief ornament, her head of hair, and to be closely shaved, except one single lock on her fore-top, which only disgraces her the more. All this wholly depends on the husband's will, who, if he

Adultery easily compensated by a fine.

How punished on the wives.

[y] See Tellez, Almeyda, Alvares, Ludolph, Lobo, and Le Grand, ubi supra.

thinks

thinks proper, may take her in again; or, if he doth not, they may both marry where they will or can. If the husband be the offender, he is likewise liable to be punished, as well as the woman with whom he hath offended; but that punishment seldom mounts higher than a fine upon them both, which is appropriated to the plaintive wife. Thus likewise the paramour of the adultress, if convicted, is condemned to what they style circo-arbah, that is, to a fine of forty cows, horses, and suits of cloaths; and, if unable to pay it, he remains a prisoner with the husband, at his discretion, till he doth; or if he lets him go before, he obliges him to swear that he is going to fetch what will satisfy him; upon which the guilty person sends him some wine, and a piece of cow's flesh, and they eat and drink together; and upon his asking pardon of the offended, he first remits him one part of the fine, and then another, and a third, and at last forgives him the whole.

In a word, marriage among them is no better than a firm bargain or contract, by which both parties engage to cohabit and join their stocks together, as long as they like each other, after which they shall be at liberty to part. So that little courtship is required before-hand, or any other ceremony, except the consent of the parents, and the interchange of a few presents; excepting what is performed by the priest at church, or at the church-door. *Marriages were bargains.*

In this part of the matrimonial celebration, the officiating prelates or priests are very liberal of their ceremonies, prayers, incensing, and singing [1].

We have already hinted, in part, how sober and moderate the Abyssinians are in their eating; and we might have added, that no food can be well coarser, meaner, or more disgustful than theirs, even among the better sort. A piece of beef half boiled, or broiled, is served up on an apas, or cake of bread, ground and made by the women, of wheat, pease, millet, teff, or other sorts of grain, according to their circumstances: so that this apas serves them not only instead of a dish or plate, but likewise for a napkin or table-cloth. For whenever they have any chicken or mutton-broth, or any other spoon-meat, the apas serves them instead of spoons to eat it with, and of a cloth to wipe their mouths and hands. These last dishes are commonly presented in black earthen porringers, or dishes, *Their mean food.*

[1] Le Grand, Dissert. iii. p. 340.

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Slovenly tables.

covered with what they call escambias, which are like caps made of fine straw. Those of the greatest quality, and even the emperor himself, have no better at their tables; and that which is oldest is the most esteemed among them. As their meats have nothing that is inviting, so neither have the sauces which they eat with them; they commonly swim with butter turned into oil, and taste and smell of some very strong ingredients, which so add to their disrelish, that an European, even a Spaniard or Portuguese, can hardly tell how to behave, when invited to their tables (D), and are usually obliged to rise with an empty stomach. They have one cleanly custom at their meals, viz. to wash their hands before they sit down, because they touch every thing they eat with them; and those of high rank are still more nice in that particular: they have their victuals cut into bits, and conveyed to their mouths by some young pages [k].

Distasteful sauces.

The richare fed by hand.

Their tables low and round.

Their tables are commonly round, large enough among the rich for twelve or fourteen persons to sit about them; but so very low, that the guests only sit upon carpets, and the meaner sort upon mats, or on the ground. They observe the old custom of not drinking any thing till they have finished their meals; their common rule is, "plant first, and then water." But after the table is cleared, the cups and flaggons are brought in, and plied so merrily about, that the quantity makes ample amends for the

[k] Vide Tellez, &c. ubi supra. Jesuits Travels, lib. ii. cap. 12. & al.

(D) It is reckoned amongst them a piece of high breeding to gobble large mouthfuls, and to make as much noise as they can in chewing their meat: it being a common saying amongst them, "that none but beggarly wretches chew their meat only on one side, and none but thieves and robbers eat without making a noise." Their greatest regale is a piece of raw beef, brought in reeking warm from the beast; if they invite company to eat with them, the whole quarter is served up at once, with plenty of salt and pepper. The gall serves instead of oil and vinegar. Some add a kind of mustard, peculiar to them, which they call manta. This is made of what they draw out of the paunch of the ox or cow. They stew it some time on the fire with pepper, salt, and a sliced onion, before they bring it to table (1). But this dish can only be purchased by the rich, on account of the pepper, which is very scarce and dear in this country.

(1) See Lobo ubi sup. p. 72. Tellez, Ludolph, et al. supra, citat.

smallness

smallness of the liquor, and seldom fails of producing intoxication. Their common liquor is made of five or six parts of water to one of honey, mixed in a jar, with a handful or two of parched barley meal, which sets it a fermenting; after which they put into it some chips of a sort of wood called sardo, which, in five or six days, takes off the fulsome taste of the honey, and makes the whole very palatable and wholesome. They might, indeed, make excellent wine from their grapes; but, whether through indolence or ignorance, they content themselves with the hydromel above mentioned, or with a sort of beer made of barley meal, mixed with some intoxicating drugs for their common drink: though they make a kind of extempore wine for the holy communion, which is extracted from dried grapes, soaked some days in fair water: this is done to avoid its contracting any acidity, which, according to their canons, renders it unfit for that use [1].

Carousing at their feasts.

Make no wine.

The furniture of their houses, even among those of higher rank, is much of a piece with that of their tables. No fine paintings, tapestry, or other ornaments, are to be seen in them; and indeed their way of living is in some measure incompatible with any such finery. Even their beds are no better than couches, on which they lay their upper garment to wrap themselves in; whilst underneath they have nothing but hides. Some of their princes, and great men, have, indeed, since the Portuguese opened a kind of import of Indian commodities, purchased Indian quilts, with silk borders, which now come to them from the ports on the Red Sea; and these they spread upon their couches, chiefly in their outward chambers, that they may be in full view of those that come to visit them, and serve them instead of chairs. As to the meaner sort, they mostly lie on mats on the ground, or perhaps with a hide or two under their upper day-garment, in which they wrap themselves at night. But the oddest furniture of their beds is their bolster, if we may give that name to a forked piece, which serves not to lay their heads upon; but to support their necks in such a manner, that the least curl of their hair, about which they are extremely curious, may not be ruffled by the pillow underneath. By which means also the butter, which they lavishly bestow upon it, in order to give it a shining smoothness, is preserved from being licked up by whatever they lay under their heads.

Mean furniture.

Beds.

Indiaquilts.

Other bedcloaths.

Nicety in adorning their hair.

[1] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, lib. i. cap. 9. seq. 19. et al. ubi supra.

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Go bare-headed.

But our readers will perhaps less wonder at this piece of vanity, when they are told that the hair is the only ornament of their heads, none but the emperors being allowed to wear either cap or any other covering: which is a great inducement to them, as they have a great deal of idle time upon their hands, to bestow some part of it in this pleasing amusement. Whilst the men take much pains in braiding it up in various forms, the women strive to have it hang loose in the like variety of curls and ringlets, excepting the fore-top, which they are still more curious and nice to adorn with jewels or trinkets, according to their rank. Upon the whole, their dress is chiefly accommodated to the climate, and where they are situate so long a time under the scorching beams of a vertical sun, that they are hardly able to bear any cloaths to touch their flesh, their chief care is to have them as light, and to hang as loose as possible, during that season. Hence it is, that their cloak, or piece of cloth that covers their bodies, and their breeches and women's drawers, are made so wide and long, as to let in as much air as possible. In the cooler seasons they bring them much closer to their bodies; and then the richer sort appear in handsome banyan vests, open only to the waist, and closed with small buttons: these have little collars, and very long and straight sleeves, gathered in at the wrist. Some authors have mistaken them for shirts; though they have another light garment under them, next to the skin, which is made of thin taffety, sattin, or damask, according as the season and their circumstances will permit[m].

Their dress suited to the climate.

Meanness of their houses.

As they are thus negligent and inelegant in their dress, food, and furniture of their houses, so are they with regard to the symmetry and architecture of their buildings, a defect which is owing to their living in tents or camps, after the manner of their monarchs. Excepting some few old royal palaces and churches, of which we shall speak among their artificial rarities, neither public structures nor private buildings are to be seen throughout the whole empire; and those which they style houses, would hardly deserve the name of huts amongst us; being built of nothing but clay and laths, or splinters, put together in the meanest and most slovenly manner; so as to be easily reared, and as readily abandoned, when they think proper to remove their quarters. The inferior sort who follow the royal camp, and are not able to purchase pavilions or tents, quickly build themselves such huts, and with al-

[m] Tellez, Ludolph, Lobo, Poncet, et al.

most

most as little trouble, as is commonly taken up in pitching a large tent. Thus, whatever some authors have romanced concerning their stately edifices, their cities, and towns, is found by experience to be all false. We have taken notice of the once famed city of Axuma being reduced to a poor despicable village, though it still retains its ancient dignity, and title of metropolis of the whole empire. All the rest, if ever any of them made any figure, are now reduced to the same dismal plight; excepting, perhaps, that they contain a greater number of such scattered huts as we have described, and so ought rather to be called large villages, than cities or towns. And this is so far evident, that abbot Gregory, and as many other Abyssinians as have travelled into Europe, could not forbear being astonished at the largeness and magnificence of our great cities, and looking upon them as so many prodigies of human industry, and much more so, when they found them stand at such small distances from each other*: they being unable to conceive how it was possible to find sufficient quantities of wood, victuals, and other necessaries, for the vast numbers of people and cattle which they contained.

No palaces, cities, castles, &c.

Their pretended cities mere villages.

What other places worth naming are to be met with in the whole empire, are only these few: 1. Fremona, which owed its grandeur to the Portuguese missionaries, whose residence it became in the reign of the emperor Adam Segued. This prince chose it, on account of its being at a great distance from his court, as he was no friend to them, but, as they pretend, was more inclined to Mohammedism than to Christianity. So that it is most likely to have fallen into utter decay, since their total expulsion (E). 2. Gubay, in the kingdom of Dembea, remarkable

The most noted of them.

* See Tellez, & al. supra citat. Ludolph, lib. ii. cap. 11. sect. 18. & seq.

(E) This place, which stands near the conflux of two streams, from whose murmuring noise it had the name of Maegoga (for that of Fremona was given to it by the Jesuits from the famed Frumentius, or Fremonatius, the first bishop of Aczum), had been well fortified by those fathers against the robbers and freebooters of that territory. They had built a strong house of stone and clay on the second head of the aboveaid brook, to which several others were added quickly after, which lay scattered at a distance from each other, upon the declivity of the hill, and each of them had a good inclosure of stone and clay.

The whole was surrounded with a stout wall of the same materials, flanked with seven or eight bastions, and lofty curtains between each of them. Within

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remarkable only for being the residence of the empress. 3. Dobarna, in the kingdom of Tigre, the residence of its viceroy. 4. Nanina, in the kingdom of Gojam, formerly inhabited by the Portuguese, till their total expulsion. And lastly, Macana Celace, in the kingdom of Amhara, worth naming only for being the native place of abbot Gregory.

Neither had the emperors either castles or palaces, till the coming of the Portuguese missionaries among them, but lived altogether in their stately pavilions, attended with all their nobles, guards, and other retinue. Such strangers were they to all kinds not only of stately, but even of common regular buildings, that when the celebrated father Pays undertook to build a magnificent edifice for soltan Segued, in whose high favour he then was, none of that prince's subjects knew so much as how to dig the stones out of the quarries, much less how to square or work them fit for use: insomuch that he was obliged to teach them both that, and how to make the proper tools for the carpenters, joiners, masons, and, in a word, for every part of the work, and how to join the stones with the red clay mentioned in the last note, instead of the usual mortar made of quick-lime. Hence the reader may guess at their great astonishment, when they, who had never till then been used to see even a few stones regularly set upon one another, beheld not only a large stupendous structure, reared with so much strength and regularity, but even high and stately stories raised one upon another, for which disposition they had not so much as a proper word, but styled them babeth-laibeth, or *house upon house*. How must they be surprised at the elegance and symmetry of the several wide and noble stair-cases, by which they ascended from the one to the other; to say nothing of the

Father Pays builds a sumptuous palace for the emperor, which astonishes the whole nation.

they had between twenty and thirty muskets, and a drake, which were managed by the sons of the Portuguese; so that the place was looked upon as impregnable. They had likewise built a stately church in it, of the same materials, which were here to be found in great plenty; the various quarries furnishing them with a stone, easily worked without the help of either pick-ax or wedge. The clay likewise, which is here of a reddish hue, is of so glutinous a nature, that it makes a strong cement, without the help of quick-lime (1).

(1) Trav. of the Jesuits, lib. iii. cap. 6. Lobo, ubi supra, Voy. iii. p. 79.

spacious

spacious galleries that led through all the apartments of the whole building; and of a vast variety of other ornaments, within and without, as might have made it a fit residence for the greatest monarch in Europe.

Few trades or manufactures.

The Abyssinians have but few manufactures, though linen and cotton be their chief dress, and their country as proper for producing them as any in Africa: their indolence is such, that they cultivate no more than just serves their present want; and the less quantity of either serves them, as they make no use of any, either at their tables, nor for their beds, and a scanty portion will suffice the common sort to cover their bodies with. The Jews are said to be their only weavers, as they are in most parts of the empire their only smiths, in every metal, and every branch of their manufacture, which are likewise very inconsiderable. What carpenters, joiners, and masons, this country produces, may be easily guessed, from the meanness of their buildings and furniture. The potters, and makers of horn trumpets, and drinking cups, are indeed in the greatest request: these, and some still inferior sorts of tradesmen, are incorporated into tribes, or companies, and have their several quarters, neither intermingling, nor intermarrying, with the rest, but the children commonly following the business of their parents.

Gold and silversmiths, jewellers, and other such curious arts and trades, are altogether unknown to them, unless it be by some manufactures brought into their country, by way of traffic or exchange; and these are only to be met with among the great and opulent. Their silks, brocades, velvets, tapestry, carpets, and other costly stuffs, are all brought hither by the Turks, by the way of the Red Sea, and exchanged for gold-dust, emeralds, and fine horses. The Jews, Arabians, and Armenians, are the common merchants, or brokers, between them and the Ayssinians; these last seldom or never travelling out of their own country. Besides the commodities already mentioned, which are exchanged between them, the Turks bring them several sorts of spices. And yet, the pepper, which is the most coveted by them, is brought thither with such privacy, and the price of it so very high, that none but the very richest can purchase it. In return for these, the Abyssinians give skins, furs, leather, honey, wax, and ivory [p].

Turks engross the whole commerce.

Their brokers, who.

Commodities exchanged.

[p] Ludolph, lib. iv. cap. 5. pass. Tellez, Lobo, & al.

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Their singular hospitality.

They have neither inns, taverns, nor public houses, for the entertainment of strangers, but are beyond measure hospitable, considering their extreme indigence. If a stranger stays longer in a village or camp than three hours, the whole community is obliged to lodge and furnish him with proper necessaries for himself, servants, and cattle, at the public charge. In that case, he need only enter into the first hut or tent he likes, and acquaint the master of it with his wants, who immediately goes and informs the lord, or chief of the place; upon which, a cow is forthwith killed, and so much of it sent to him as will suffice him and his company, together with a proportionable quantity of cake, or bread, and beer, or hydromel, and other proper conveniencies for their lodging: all these articles they are the more careful to furnish, because their neglect would be liable to be punished with a fine of double the value of what they were bound to supply him with, should he prefer a complaint of it to a proper magistrate. This laudable custom, however, is not without some great inconveniences, inasmuch as it gives encouragement to a parcel of idle vagabonds to abuse it, and causes the country to swarm with that destructive vermin [a].

Abused by wagrants.

SECT. V.

Of the natural and artificial Rarities of Abyssinia.

Natural rarities. The longevity of the men.

AMONG all the natural rarities of this country, which may justly challenge our admiration, we may reckon the surprising longevity of the men, under the various changes of their climate, from the extremes of the most sultry and burning heats, to the most vehement and continual rains and inundations, and the many distempers which they naturally occasion. And next to that, the liveliness and fecundity of the women, and especially the ease and quickness with which they are delivered, though they commonly bear two or three children at a birth; insomuch, that without the assistance of doctor or midwife, they go through their pregnacy without qualms or uneasiness, and without feeling any of those dreadful and tedious pangs of child-birth, which commonly terrify and affect that tender sex, in other parts of the

[a] Vide inter al. Lobo, p. 73, & seq. Lud. ibid. cap. 6. § 46.

world;

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world: here they have little else to do but kneel and stoop before they are delivered of their burthen, and rise up strong and active; and, in a very little space of time, they are able to return to their domestic employments. They scarcely allow themselves the formality of a few days lying-in, nor any of the comfortable changes of diet proper to their condition; and suckle and rear up their offspring, whether they have more than one or two at a birth, without any intermission from their other family concerns. This fecundity is still more remarkable in their domestic animals, as well as wild beasts[r]. *Agility and fecundity of the women.*

Of their mines of gold, we have already hinted something, though with diffidence. Though this country may be as likely as any other in Africa to produce plenty of that valuable metal, yet they prudently chuse to have so tempting a treasure concealed from strangers, and content themselves with what is, or perhaps they pretend to be, brought to them from Cafria, Nigritia, and other parts, rather than to hazard the enslaving of their country, by owning their having any of their own. They certainly gather quantities of that which the torrents bring down from the mountains, and which often comes in large grains, and of a fine pure nature; some of it, we are told, is even found about the roots of the trees. Silver is still more scarce among them; but whether owing to the same policy, or to the want of proper hands and skill to manage them, we do not hear of any mines they have of it; though by their having some of lead, one would be apt to conclude, that they must likewise have some of silver: but what they want of the latter, is richly compensated by what they have of the former; and much more so, by the great quantity of iron they draw from their mines, which is reckoned of great use and value. The misfortune is, that they are not only quite ignorant of every branch that belongs to the digging of it, but look upon it as a slavish, dismal, and hazardous business, and far beneath the high opinion they entertain of their own nation above all others. To dig and labour so far in the dark bosom of the earth, to bear with the unwholsome damps and vapours of a subterraneous dungeon, to be in continual danger of being overwhelmed by the ground over their heads, which they know not how to prop, or of being annoyed, if not drowned, by springs from beneath, which they neither know how to drain, or draw away: *Gold mines.* *None of silver, though some of lead.* *The people quite ignorant of metals and mines.*

[r] Vide Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, Poncet, Coding, & al. plur.

away: these, and many other difficulties and dangers, which they frame to themselves, make them look upon such a work as fit only for the worst of slaves; and they content themselves with so much of that useful metal as they find on the surface of the ground[s]; so that we need not wonder if we hear of no mines, or any other metals, such as copper, or tin, nor of any other minerals, which require digging at any depth below ground.

Mines of salt.

They are much more expert and ready at working at their salt mines, where there is less labour and danger, and of which they have a considerable number, especially on the confines of the kingdoms of Tigre, Dancali, and Angot. The salt is not like that which we make in Europe, of sea-water, or salt-springs, but is ready made to their hands, by the Divine Providence, in such vast quantities, that those mines, which are no other than huge rocks or mountains of solid salt, are in some measure inexhaustible. These rocks are hewn in pieces somewhat in the shape of our bricks, but of different sizes and weights: the salt, though very solid and hard on the surface of the rock, is much softer within the mine, till consolidated by the sun, and is no way inferior in taste and quality to the best of our own. From these parts, called the land of salt, those pieces are dispersed through the whole empire, where they are bought, especially at their fairs, not only as a necessary commodity, but as the most current money, by which they can furnish themselves with all other goods they want, and where they bear a greater or lesser value, according to the distance of the place from whence they are brought: thus, in those parts which are near the mine, a hundred weight of it will purchase what they reckon equivalent to about five of our shillings: at a greater distance, eighty pounds will have the same value; and so at a farther distance, will sixty, fifty, and in a gradual progression. At the imperial camp, or court, ten pounds will still be equivalent to a crown; and, in some of the most distant provinces, three pounds of it will fetch a small piece of gold, called a darim.

Salt the chief coin of the country.

Its different value in all parts of the empire.

There is still a farther use made of this salt by the Abyssinians, which is that of being a pledge of, and incentive to mutual love and friendship; so that they never go out without a small piece of it in their purse, which commonly hangs at their girdle. Whenever, therefore, any two friends or acquaintances meet, their first greeting is, to

[s] Ludolph, lib. i. cap. 7. § 1. & seq. Tellez, Lobo, & al.

take

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take out their pieces of salt, which they mutually lick: to refuse this compliment, on either side, would be considered as a gross affront, and an open declaration of some inward resentment or private grudge; or at best, as a piece of ill-manners and unpoliteness.

A vast plain of salt.

They have also some spacious plains, the surface of which is incrusted with another sort of salt; and in fetching it many hundreds of camels, mules, and asses, are daily employed; particularly on the confines between Dancali and Tigre. This salt, like the former, is carried in pieces about a span long, and four inches in breadth and thickness, is very white, hard, and in the greatest plenty, though the caravans are continually going and coming with it; the plain that yields it being said to be four days journey in length. To this last we may add a third sort, of a reddish colour, which is hewn from an entire rock: this is commonly used in physic; and the mountain must be passed by night, the heat being so violent in the day, that it often stifles both man and beast; and the very shoes are parched, as if they were laid upon burning coals [n].

A red salt used for physic.

High and stupendous rocks and mountains.

The next sort of natural rarities, is their stupendous, high, craggy, and almost inaccessible mountains; in comparison of which, the Apennines, Alps, and Pyrenees, are but mere hillocks, and little eminences; they are here in such vast numbers, that there is not one province, or kingdom, except that of Dembea, but what is covered thick with mountains; some of which are so lofty, steep, and craggy, that they are at once dreadful to behold, and no less difficult and dangerous to pass; and yet of such singular service are they to the country, that they seem designed by Providence as impregnable fortresses, without which, the small part which is left of that once vast empire, would long ago have been swallowed up by the Turks, Gallas, and other hostile nations, if those impenetrable barriers had not stood there to guard it on every side. Whilst their inaccessible summits seem to out-top the highest clouds, the valleys beneath look as if they were going to hide themselves in the lowest abysses of the earth; the former partaking of the keenness of the second and third regions of the air; and the latter, by their excessive heat, reminds you of the central fire of the earth. These stupendous ridges, which the natives call dambas, present you, at a distance, with a delightful variety of shapes; one sort bearing such a resemblance to

An impregnable barrier to the empire.

Dreadful vallies.

Various shapes.

[n] Alphonso Mendez. See Jesuits Travels, lib. iii. cap. 8. Lobo, & al supra citat.

some

some vast extensive city, that you can hardly forbear thinking that you see the high walls, towers, bastions, and a great diversity of other structures, as you approach them. Another sort appears, some like pyramids, others like towers of various shapes; some of an exact square, others of as perfect a round from top to bottom, as if they had been turned, or wrought with the chissel; some appear of a vast height, and difficult ascent; and when you come up to what you supposed to be the top, you find it to be only the foot of another, full as high, craggy, and difficult [o].

Guça, or Guza. Of this nature is that called Guça, or Guza, in the kingdom of Tigre, which travellers, who come from the Red Sea, must cross in going to Dembea, and which, when you have gained the top of it, presents to you a spacious plain, in the midst of which stands another mountain of equal height, which you must likewise surmount, after you have sufficiently refreshed yourself on the fertile and delightful top of the Guza. The ascent takes up about half a day's journey, and goes winding all the way up; the paths are very narrow, and cut into the side of the solid rock; and all the way you go presents you with a most deep and dreadful precipice, the bottom of which cannot be reached by the naked eye, but only offers a gulph, which at once makes one's head giddy, and fills the heart with a continual horror. Should any of the caravans that frequent these steep and narrow roads chance to meet another in its way, they are in the greatest danger, both man and beast, of being thrown down the precipice, and being dashed in pieces before they reach the bottom, unless they take the utmost care in passing one another. The mules are by far the best for those that ride, because they are the surest footed; but they always go close to the edge of the precipice, and cannot without risk be turned to the other side of the road. What adds still more to the horror of the journey, whether it be up or down the steep declivity, is, that at the bottom of the valley below, there commonly runs a swift torrent of water, with a most hideous roar, which being echoed by the adjacent rocks, and oftened, heightened by loud winds, as well as by the continual trampling of the men and beasts upon the rock, increases the horrid din to such a degree, that one cannot possibly hear one's self, much less one another, speak, though ever so loud, or ever so near [p].

Is only the basis of Lame.

Difficult access.

Frightful access.

[o] Tellez, Pays, Kercher, Poncet, Almeyda, Ludolph, Lobo, Le Grand, & al. mult. [p] Id. ibid. See the Travels of the Jesuits, lib. i. cap. 7. Alvarez, Almeyda, &c.

But

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But the wished-for summit once attained, which is reckoned above three hundred fathoms perpendicular above the plain top of Guza, one is regaled with the beautiful prospect it at once presents to the view, which is not that of rugged and intersected peaks above, and deep gaping valleys beneath, but of a small, though delightful, plain, about two miles in compass, and a musket-shot in breadth, terminated at one end by a new, flat, and upright rock, like the back of a chair, of which this little plain is the seat; so that take the whole mountain together, that of Guza seems to be a kind of pedestal to this; and this, which the natives call Lamalmon, represents, in some measure, a chair without arms, the back of which is the upright rock at the end of the plain, which is as perpendicular as if it had been hewn out with a chissel. Along what we may call the seat of this wonderful and supereminent chair, is pleasantly situate a town of the same name, whose inhabitants make a handsome livelihood by helping the caravans to load and unload the beasts of burthen, in the craggy ascent above mentioned.

The fine prospect from the top of Lamalmon.

Beautiful shape.

Difficult ascent.

A town upon it.

But what yields a still more surprisingly delightful prospect from this little lofty spot, is the unbounded view of the whole kingdom of Tigre, though the largest of the whole empire, and of the ridges of the mountains of Semien, which run across, and intersect it in various parts, and which, at that height and distance, appear no higher than small hillocks. The misfortune is, that this little town, though strong and populous enough to defend itself against all assaults of any enemy, is but poorly furnished with all necessaries for human life, except water, which they have in plenty, and very good; every other kind of accommodation they are obliged either to fetch from the lower lands, or to purchase at a dearer rate from the caravans, a circumstance which does not a little lessen the gain of their labour, and keeps them still poor and indigent.

The people poor.

Much of the same nature is the famed mountain, or rock, of Guexen, situate between the kingdoms of Amhara and Xava, on the summit of which was such another, but larger plain, well watered and wooded, with some ground for tillage and pasture, guarded on all sides with strong and difficult passes made by the natural rock, and in which the princes of the blood were formerly kept prisoners, and whence they were fetched to be raised to the imperial throne. This stupendous and impregnable mountain is a perpendicular rock, in the nature of a fortress, the breadth of which, on the top, along the slope, may be

Guexen, a famous rock.

Described.

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be about half a league, but at the bottom is about half a day's journey in circuit; the height is such, that the strongest man cannot cast a stone with a sling high enough to reach the top. The ascent, though not very steep at first, grows by degrees so difficult and painful, that even their cows, which in this country climb and skip like wild goats, cannot be hoisted up without slings and pullies. On the top is nothing to be seen but a parcel of poor huts, of stone and dirt, covered above, and lined within, with straw, with scarce any tolerable furniture besides. These served for mansion-houses both for the unfortunate princes, who were sent thither, and for their guards. About the middle of the plain were two springs which supplied them with water, the one to drink, and the other to wash themselves in. A few corn-fields they had for tillage; some pasture for their cattle, and some few trees in form of a thicket, served them for a shady refreshment: in this dismal solitude they spent their lives, till either raised to the empire, or set at liberty by death. This rigorous custom was, however, set aside about two centuries ago; but the most considerable of all the mountains, according to father Alphonso Mendez, is that which they call Thabat Mariam, or more properly Tadbaba Mar-jam, whose summit vastly out-tops all the rest, and even the clouds, by far, and is likewise very spacious. This famed mountain, whose bottom is watered by two large rivers descending from it, hath seven handsome churches built upon it, one of which, dedicated to St. John, is very rich and beautiful, having been formerly the burying-place of the Abyssinian monarchs, of whom there are five monuments, covered with tapestry, displaying the arms of Portugal; from which, one may conjecture them to have been presented for that purpose by king Emanuel, to the then emperor David [q].

The princes of the blood confined upon the top of it.

Mount Tadbaba Mar-jam described.

The burial-place of the emperors.

The last we shall mention under this head, is that celebrated hollow high rock, in the kingdom of Gojam; just opposite to which stands another, much of the same height and magnitude, so exactly placed by nature, that it echoes back a word barely whispered in the other, with such force, that it is heard at a distance; and the joint voices of three or four persons speaking together, sound as loud as a great shout from a numerous army [r]. Some of those craggy ascents would be wholly inaccessible in

Whispering place.

[q] Vide Lobo, & Le Grand, Dissert. lib. ii. p. 206. [r] Kercher & Paye, apud Ludolph. lib. i. cap. 6. sect. 15.

many

many places, had not necessity forced those otherwise indolent people, to have recourse to cranes, and other such shifts, by which they draw up, and let down, both the beasts and their burthens, by ropes and pullies. Their way of travelling through this rocky and mountainous country, is upon mules, or asses, which are the best, and, as we have lately hinted, the most sure-footed beasts, to clamber up and down those craggy ascents: but in the plains the camels are most commonly used, as the best fitted by nature for those hot, dry, and sandy climates, their horses being only mounted in time of war, to charge the enemy.

Beasts, cattle, and goods craned up and down.

Way of travelling.

The next natural rarities of this country, consist of lakes and rivers. Of the former, we meet with few of any note, except those of Zoai, or Zowaia, in the kingdom of Xaoa, out of which springs the river Matchi, which falls into the great Hawash, or Xaoax, and with it is buried or absorbed in the sandy deserts of the kingdom of Adel, and that of Dembea in the kingdom of that name, styled by the inhabitants Bar-Dembea, or the *sea of Dembea*. This last is by far indeed the most considerable of the two, on several accounts, but more particularly for its largeness and its vast length and breadth, extending from the 12th to the 14th deg. of north latitude, almost thirty in most places, and thirty-five leagues where longest; and in breadth from ten leagues, where narrowest, to almost fourteen or fifteen where broadest, and about ninety miles in circumference, exclusive of its deep bays, creeks, and other windings: the waters of it are sweet and clear; and breed great plenty and variety of fish. The country round about is plain, fertile, and delightful; and the inside of the lake abounds with a multitude of islands of different sizes, the largest inhabited by Abyssinian monks, and very pleasant and fertile: about seven or eight of them have monasteries, which, though going to decay, appear to have been formerly stately edifices; and among the various products which they yield, they have such fine citron and orange trees, as exceed any in the empire. One of these islands, and the most barren of all, which the inhabitants called Dek, is made the prison, or place of confinement, for great prisoners of state.

Lakes.

The largest one of Dembea.

Its extent.

Waters.

Fish.

Islands and monasteries.

This great lake is navigable, and the Abyssinians sail on it in flat-bottomed boats, which they call tancoas, made of a kind of rushes they call tambuas, with which its waters abound, each of the thickness of a man's arm, and about

Navigation with small boats.

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about two yards in length. This tambua grows likewise in other lakes, and all along the banks of the Nile, and is used for the same purposes, though this last is thinner, and longer, than that which grows in the lakes, and is the same which the ancients called papyrus, and was serviceable to them not only in making their paper, but likewise their boats, sails, and other tackle. This lake breeds multitudes of hippopotāmos, or sea-horses, which not only endanger the navigation but destroy great quantities of fish, and make a dreadful havock wherever they come, to graze upon the land. However, it breeds neither crocodiles nor alligators, as the Nile doth; so that the cattle may safely feed on the fertile pasture grounds adjacent to it, and come and drink of its wholsome waters, without any danger from those amphibious monsters: as for the sea-horses, there are people who make it their business to destroy them, and live upon their flesh, and cut their skins into long straps, called allengas, which the Abyssinians use instead of whips and spurs to their horses [a].

Breeds many sea-horses, but no crocodiles, &c.

What is still more singular of this lake, is, that it receives the Nile into its bosom, and gives its waters a free passage a-cross it from west to east, without intermixing its own with it. Hence the ancients, and many of our modern geographers, have imagined that celebrated river to have its rise from thence, though the contrary hath been since discovered by eye-witnesses, who have been at the pains to trace it back from the place where it falls into the lake, quite up to its famous, and so long sought for springs, which are above twenty leagues in a direct line distant from the lake.

Crossed by the river Nile without mixing waters with it.

It must be owned, however, there seems to be no good reason for preferring these two springs, to a vast number of others, which, by their flowing into the same common stream, though perhaps from a much greater distance, might intitle them, with as much justice, to that dignified name: for when so many different brooks, thus join their water into one common stream, how can we, with certainty, assign that title to any one or two of them, exclusive of the rest; and yet unless this can be done, the head spring of that river may justly be deemed as unknown to us as it was to the ancients. What is the Nile itself, with all that multitude of streams that flow into it, but a mere brook before the Jemma, which falls from the

[a] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, Almeyda, & al. *supra citat.*

distant

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distant mountains of Dengla, with a much greater force, and a much larger quantity of water, swells it into the bulk of a river; or, to speak perhaps more properly, receives it into its bosom, and by a strange and unnatural requital, is forced to yield at once its waves and dignity to that proud intruder.

As to the cause of its not mixing its waves with those of the Dembean lake, a fact founded on frequent and unquestionable observations, is rightly supposed to be the largeness and violence of its stream; which having received several other large rivers into it, and running its course downwards, with unusual rapidity, carries all before it with an irresistible force, and makes itself a channel of twelve or more leagues through the Dembean waters, for so far it is from the place of its entrance to that of its sallying out of that lake [b].

Tacaza.

One of the principal rivers that falls into the Nile, is the Tacaza, supposed the Astaboras of Ptolemy. It hath its source on the ridge of mountains called Arywagua, on the frontiers of the kingdom of Angot, next to that of Bargemder, where at the foot of the higher-seated mountain toward the east, break forth with great force three several springs, within a stone's throw of each other, and joining their streams together, make up a considerable river, which runs eastward some days journey, between the territories of Daphana and Hoage; thence crossing the kingdom of Tigre, it runs through the province of Sire, leaving its fertile lands on the east, and its celebrated desert of Aldaba on the west, once as famed for the number and austerity of its anchorites, as that of Thebais; thence continuing its course still northwards through the province of Holeait, and the low lands of the Caffres, it at length enters the kingdom of Dequin, inhabited by a kind of Moors called Baulons, where it soon after loses itself in the Nile. This river, though not so large as that it runs into, is in many places very deep, and abounds with crocodiles and sea-horses, both of an extraordinary size, together with the fish called torpedo [c].

Its course along the famed desert of Aldaba.

The Zebee, its rise and course.

The Zebee rises in the kingdom of Nerea, and is said to be larger than the Nile; it springs in the canton of Boxa, belonging to that kingdom, and taking its course first westward, then eastward, and thence southward,

[b] Tellez, Pays, Almeyda, Lobo, & al. ibid. [c] Almeyda, Lobo, Tellez, Ludolph, & al.

forms in some measure the kingdom of Gingiro into a peninsula, as the Nile doth that of Gojam; it afterwards continues its course southward beyond Ken, and is supposed to be the same that disembogues itself at Mombaza [d].

The Mareb runs part of its way under-ground.

The Mareb, another considerable river, hath its source at about two leagues distance westward from the town of Debaroa, since called Fremona, in the kingdom of Tigre, whence winding to the south, and entering the sandy territories of the Caffres, it comes down with a dreadful fall from a rock thirty cubits high, and buries itself a long way under-ground, yet not so low, but that if one digs a few yards deep, as the Portuguese did when they carried on the war in those parts, one finds not only plenty of sweet water, but of good fish. A little farther southwards the river rises again, and winding into the more fertile kingdom of Dekin, or Dequin, distributes all its fattening treasure of water on those lands. In the winter season, this river, we are told, takes a different course before it buries itself in the sands, and runs between the provinces of Suroa, Assa, Harve, and Towat; gliding along the foot of the monastery of Halleluja, which stands at a small distance from Fremona, and consequently from the place where it rises; after which it enters the sands, and sinks out of sight.

The Hoax.

Another river, almost equal to the Nile, is the Hoax, Haoax, or, according to Mr. Ludolph, Hawash, which rises between the kingdoms of Xoa, on the north, and of Ogge and Fattegar, on the south, and directing its course eastward, receives several large rivers, particularly

Machi.

the Machi, or Matshi, which flows from the great lake of Zawaja, or Zoaj, in the kingdom of Ogge, above mentioned; thence, with this new addition, it hurries its rapid stream into the kingdom of Adel, which it enters at a place called Anca-Garrele, where the fathers Pereyra and Machado, two Jesuit missionaries, were beheaded, by the Mohammedan king, in hatred to Christianity. This noble river makes ample amends to the inhabitants for the scarcity of rains; being, like the Nile, drawn into numerous channels, it enriches all that tract, by watering their fields and fertilising their vallies, so that they produce the greatest plenty of corn and cattle; and

Their fertile course.

[d] Travels of the Jesuits, lib. i. cap. 4. John Dos Santos Ethiop. Orient. lib. v. cap. 1.

at

at length, like the Mareb above mentioned, buries itself in the earth [e].

Other rivers of this empire having little in them worth our reader's attention, we shall content ourselves with the bare naming of those of most note; such as the Bachilo, or Baxilo, which divides the kingdoms of Bagemder and Amhara; the Guexem, or Queccam, which divides the latter from that of Valaka, or Olaca; the Anguer, which joining its stream with the Maleg, carries their fertility through the kingdoms of Damot, Narea, Bizamo, and the cantons of the Gaffates and Gongas; all which, and many others, may be best seen in the map of this empire. *Others of less note.*

The artificial curiosities of Abyssinia, are few in number; yet some of them are of such an uncommon nature, as to deserve the attention of a curious reader: we mean those ten stately churches cut out of the solid rock, by dint of the hammer and chissel, and so highly extolled by the patriarch Alvarez, and father Tellez. What still increases the wonder, is, that they were all completed by the command, and at the charge, of one of their great monarchs, named Lalibela, of whose glorious reign and actions we shall give a farther account in its proper place. Their names are, St. Emanuel, St. Saviour, St. Mary, the Holy Cross, St. George, Golgotha, Bethlehem, the Martyrs, Marcoreos, and Lalibela; which last bears the name of its founder, and is by far the noblest structure of all the rest, though himself was interred in that of Golgotha. This pious and magnificent prince, being sensible of the scarcity of architects and workmen in his own empire, for carrying on such vast designs, sent for a competent number of them out of Egypt; and these, by his munificence, completed all these churches, in the space of twenty-four years [f]. *Artificial rarities.* *Ten churches hewn out of the solid rock.*

Some of their other churches, particularly those which belonged to their most celebrated monasteries, appear to have been formerly large and sumptuous structures, and might be deservedly ranked among their artificial rarities, not only on that account, but much more for their singular form, they being mostly built after the model of the temple of Jerusalem, and divided into the same three atria, or partitions. Some of them are of a round figure, and have a square chapel in the centre, of square stone, *Ancient churches belonging to monasteries.*

[e] Tellez, & al. supra citat. [f] Alvarez, Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, Kercher, & al. plur.

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with four gates, facing the four cardinal points; the portals and windows were of cedar, or some other curious wood, neatly wrought. The roof above rises in the form of a cupola, but within all appeared gloomy, as having no first light. Without the square, between it and the round walls, was the body of the church, which looked more like a cloister, well lined with cedar wood, and the roof was supported with pillars of the same, very costly and beautifully wrought. Most of them, however, are gone to decay: and of some of them, little more was left than their ruins, or at best some few fragments, still serving to the same religious uses.

Run to decay.

We omit sundry other such rarities, both natural and artificial, mentioned by Anthanasius Kercher, which those who can give credit to them, may see in his large collection. The last we shall mention in this place, is the famed imperial palace, built after the European taste, by father Pays, of which we promised to give a short account under this head. This stately edifice was faced within and without with large square stones, neatly wrought and joined together. Among the stately apartments of it, was one spacious room, fifty feet in length, and fifteen in breadth; and on the same floor, a square bed-chamber, together with a spacious stair-case in the middle, leading from the lower to the upper floor. From this ascended a second, leading to the flat roof of the house, which was surrounded by a handsome parapet. On the top of this upper stair-case was built a little room, like a closet, in which the emperor much delighted, because he had from thence a distant view of the whole Dembean lake, and all the adjacent country, the palace being built on a rising ground, in the large peninsula called Gorgora, on the northern side of the lake: from thence also he could see all that went in and out, without being perceived by any body [e]. This delightful spot being the place where that monarch used to spend the greatest part of the winter, he had caused it to be beautified with stately gardens after the European manner.

The imperial palace described.

[e] Tellez, & al. vide & Ludolph, lib. ii. cap. 12. Lobo, & al. supra p. 116.

SECT.

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SECT. VI.

Of the Government, Laws, Emperor's Court, Power, Coronation, pompous Titles, Camp, Retinue, Army, Revenue, and other Prerogatives.

Government of Abyssinia.

IT plainly appears, by all the records of this once vast and opulent empire, that its government was from its first foundation monarchical and despotic, and that, though its origin and uninterrupted series of monarchs, which the Abyssinians so much boast of, are at best very precarious and doubtful, yet there cannot be found, either in their tradition or annals, or through any of those great revolutions which it hath undergone in so long a series of ages, a period of time, in which those princes did not rule with despotic sway, and claim an absolute right over the lives, liberties, and fortunes of their subjects, as well as an uncontrolable authority in all matters ecclesiastical as well as civil [h]. There never were among them any written laws concerning their government, much less any to restrain their exorbitant power, or secure the subjects in the least privilege or property; but his sole will is the universal law. Notwithstanding which extensive prerogative, derived to them from time immemorial, the clergy have not wholly acknowleged or submitted to it: they have, upon various occasions, strenuously opposed it, not only in matters wholly religious and ecclesiastical, but even in some that were merely political, such as the succession, or coronation, of some of their emperors, as we shall see in the sequel.

The emperor's power absolute.

Their descent.

We have already observed, that these princes boast themselves descended from Menileck, or David, the son of the great Solomon, king of Israel, by the queen of Sheba. This princess, according to them, did, after her return from Judea, reign twenty-five years, and was succeeded by this son, from whom descended a series of princes, in a direct line, down to the year 960, when the crown passed into another family; in virtue of which noble descent, they style themselves Naguſh, and are always addressed either by that of naguſha nagasht, or *king of kings*; or by that of hatzeghe, equivalent to the French sire. But besides these, they assume commonly some

High titles.

[h] Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, Poncet, & al. plur.

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other pompous titles in their edicts, letters, and other public writings: such was, for instance, the letter of the emperor Lebna Danguil, or David, Sultan Segued, (for he bore all those names) to Emanuel king of Portugal; in which he styles himself David the beloved of God, pillar of the faith, kinsman to the race of Judah, son of David, and of Solomon, son of the pillar of Sion, emperor of the great and high Ethiopia, and of its great kingdoms and provinces. They likewise bear in their arms the lion of the tribe of Judah holding a cross, with this inscription in Ethiopic, "the lion of the tribe of Judah is conqueror." The respect that is paid to their presence, is answerable to their title and dignity, none of their subjects approaching them without the deepest marks of submission, and such as come little short of adoration. They do not indeed affect that majestic piece of grandeur, of being seldom seen by their subjects; for these will often shew themselves to them in public, and even admit them into their presence; but this is never done without the greatest solemnity; and those who are thus far honoured, are obliged to fall prostrate before him, and kiss the ground as they approach his person. Something like it they observe even in his absence, insomuch, that they never hear his name mentioned without bowing their bodies very low, and touching the ground with their hands. As for all the other marks of their boasted grandeur and magnificence, it chiefly consists in the retinue that constantly attends their court, or rather their camp, for we have already observed that they chiefly live in tents. In these one may indeed see something of imperial pomp and state, though vastly short of that of the Chinese, and other monarchs, in their progress from place to place. They are not only accompanied by their own household and guards, which make up a numerous shew, but by all the grandees and officers of the empire, which out-vie one another, not only in the number of their domestics, and splendour of their retinue, but in the richness of their dress, and the sumptuousness of their pavilions; so that their camp always takes up a large space of ground, and makes a very magnificent shew; to which the regular disposition of the streets, and great variety of tents, streamers, and other ornaments, and especially the many lights and fires at night, contribute not a little. The whole appears like a vast open, and regular city, in whose centre, or on some eminent part of which, is displayed the imperial pavilion, excelling all

Homage paid to them.

Their retinue.

Camp looks like a vast regular city.

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all the rest, in height, bulk, and richness. Next to it, are those of the empresses and royal family, and then those of the lords and ladies of his court, all appearing with a proportionable, though inferior lustre. To these, we may add those stately tents which serve instead of churches, upon which they likewise bestow no small cost, to adorn and enrich them both within and without. As to the rest of this imperial camp, we must expect nothing extraordinary, except its vast extent, and the good order that is commonly kept in it, together with its market places, courts of judicature, and other tribunals of justice, and the places where the young nobility perform variety of exercises on horseback, which afford likewise a delightful sight. All the rest appears only a huge variety of long extensive lanes, made up on all sides either of mean ordinary tents, or low miserable huts of laths and clay, covered with straw, which serve for his guards, soldiery, and a prodigious multitude of suttlers and other attendants [1].

Rich pavilions.

Some serve for churches.

When the emperor removes his camp, or, as it may be properly styled, his metropolis (F), their chief care is to chuse a convenient spot, well furnished with water, and especially with wood, because when that begins to fail them, they are obliged to remove; and it is scarcely conceivable what havock they make, for want of observing a due order in felling it; so that vast forests, mountains, and vallies, are frequently laid bare in a little time; insomuch, that whenever this huge unwieldy encampment removes, there is then no more to be seen for a long while after, but the naked ground. The em-

Manner of removing the camp.

Vast havock made by it.

[1] Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Poncet, Ludolph, Dam. Goez, & al. plur.

(F) These removes are chiefly occasioned either through the want of wood and other provisions, or by the different wars which those princes have in hand, sometimes with one enemy, sometimes with another, they being in a great measure surrounded by them on every side. During some part of the time of the missionaries residence in those parts, the emperor had his camp at a place called Dencas, where it continued ten whole years; but before that, he had five or six other places, in which he had resided only one, two, or three years. The emperors have likewise a place for their winter quarters, where they retire with their wives and household, as it were from business, especially in time of war, and return to the camp in spring (1).

(1) Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, Dam. de Goez, Codign, & al.

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How the emperor marches.

peror in his march, whether in time of peace or war, is always attended by his azaques and chief ministers: he appears with a crown on his head, made up of pieces of gold and silver, embellished with some sea pearl; for other kinds of jewels were never so much as seen in Abyssinia, if we may believe abbot Gregory, and the generality of Portuguese missionaries; though Poncet, on the contrary, describes the empress as covered all over with jewels, when he had the honour to be admitted to her presence. He also wears a kind of cap, or hat, made after the Indian manner. Some time before they begin their march, proper officers are sent all the way before, to the governors of every province and place where they are to pass, with orders not only to provide them and the whole army with all necessaries, but likewise to open and repair the roads, and especially to clear the woods, through which their way lies, of all superfluous branches, briars, and every thing else that may retard their march; though they can travel but slowly, and by short journies, by reason of the multitudes of women, children, cattle, and other luggage that commonly follow them. These orders seldom fail of being executed with the utmost exactness by the country people, because, upon the least deficiency, they are sure to be severely fined: on the time appointed, they all punctually come with their quotas of cows, corn, beer, and hydromel, all which are afterwards distributed with the same exactness among the several ranks and orders of the army; it being a standing law, throughout the whole empire, that every district and canton, through which the emperor or his army are to pass, shall find them in all those necessaries, and make the roads fit for them. Besides these purveyors above mentioned, the titmerari, or officer that commands the van-guard, takes upon him the office of quarter-master general, and fixes his pike on the spot he chuses for the imperial pavilion. Every one of the rest knowing his own rank, and the ground that he is to take up, they easily guess by their eye where their tents are to be pitched; so that the whole encampment is completed in a little time, with such regularity and exactness, as well as dispatch, that, notwithstanding their being so frequently removed, yet every one knows the ways and paths so well, that he can go to the tent of any one with the same facility as we can find a lane, street, or house, in any of our cities, or most populous towns.

His army how supplied with provisions, by the country people.

Camp how pitched.

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The camp is divided into seven parishes, every one of which hath its head priest, with all his deacons and inferiors under him, who assist him in the instruction of youth, in performing divine service, and other functions of the priestly office. Whenever the enemy happens to be near, the army is ordered to march close, and in the best order; the van-guard and rear drawing up close to the main body. The wings extend themselves; and the emperor keeps in the centre with his guards, great officers, and ladies, leaving still a sufficient interval for inclosing the baggage. At other times they observe little or no order in their marches, saving that there is always a number of warlike instruments, with kettle and other drums, sounding before, and a guard marching around him. He always mounts and alights in his tent; and, if he hath occasion to alight by the way, the guards immediately make a ring about his person, and spread their cloaks to keep him unseen; and if it is with a design to take rest, a couch, which is commonly carried near at hand for that purpose, is brought to him, on which he lies on cushions covered with carpets of the finest silks. *Method of marching.*

We have already hinted, that the Abyssinian crown is altogether hereditary, and must be preserved in the same family, that is, in the posterity of Menileck, their first monarch; but the succession to it is not so absolutely tied to the primogeniture, but an emperor, if he pleases, may set aside his eldest son, or any other of them, for the sake of a younger, whom he favours more, or thinks more worthy. This prerogative often proved the cause of much jealousy and misunderstanding between the young princes, and sometimes of long and cruel wars; and in all probability gave birth to that severe custom, held in this empire, of confining all the princes of the blood to the fortress or rock called Ambaguexen, already described. Whatever might be the first occasion of that practice, sure it is, that the successor to the crown was always fetched from thence while that custom lasted, in order to be invested with the regalia of that empire. They were kept, with the rest of those unfortunate prisoners, under such a very strict guard, that no creature was permitted to come near them; nor could any message or letter be conveyed to them, till it had undergone the examination of their gaolers, whose business it was to keep them under the strictest and severest discipline; insomuch that they would not allow them to wear any better clothes than those which were the usual garb of the common people, lest a more distin- *Crown hereditary.* *Young princes confined in a fortress.*

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distinguished dress should inspire them with ambitious thoughts [k].

If what father Alvarez tells us of his own knowlege may be credited, this custom was not so thoroughly banished out of the empire as Tellez would insinuate, since he, Alvarez, positively tells us, that David, one of the sons of Nahod, having been raised to the throne, and defeated by his elder brother, was sent with all his younger brethren to that dismal confinement; and adds that he saw one of the youngest of them, who had found means to escape, taken, and conducted to the same place [l].

With respect to the manner in which the successor was brought from this place of confinement, if the emperor, indeed, did declare him during his life, there was then no debate or opposition; but if he had omitted the nomination, the nobles and officers of the army had a right to chuse him whom they thought most worthy of the crown. As soon as they had agreed upon a successor, the viceroy of Tigre went at the head of some forces, and encamped at the foot of the mountain, Thence, with a proper retinue of grandees and officers, he went up to the top; and, entering the hut or cell of the prince elect, he, with the usual formality, fixed the belul or imperial ear-ring to his ear, which was the token of his election; immediately after which ceremony, the other young princes were sent for, to come and pay their homage to, and congratulate him, on his happy accession to the crown.

As soon as the new emperor descended, the governors, and other officers, came at the head of the army to meet him: as soon as they approached him, they all alighted together and saluted him; and upon his giving them the signal, they all mounted again, and taking him into their centre, conducted him to the debana, or imperial pavilion, with loud acclamations of joy, heightened by the sound of the trumpets, kettle-drums, and other musical instruments. Here he alone alighted within, and was soon after solemnly anointed by a proper prelate, called the saraje macare, whilst the rest of his clergy accompanied the ceremony with psalms and hymns suitable to the occasion [m]. Presently after that ceremony, he was invested with the imperial robes, and the crown was set upon his head, which was made of several pieces of gold

[k] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, & al. ubi supra. [l] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, & al. sup. citat. [m] Tellez, Almeyda, Lobo, Ludolph, &c. seq.

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and silver, shaped like lilies, intermixed with pearl seeds, and fixed on a kind of hat or cap, of blue velvet; on the top of which was a cross of the same metal: the sword of state was drawn and put into his hand, and he being seated on the throne, a herald immediately proclaimed him emperor, in words to this import: "We have caused ——— to reign;" which words were on a sudden answered by the loud acclamations of the whole assembly and army. *Other ceremonies on their coronation.*

A kind of ritual, which we suppose contains the whole duty of a good sovereign, is next read and explained before him, either by the metropolitan that anoints him, or by some of his substitutes; but whether the prince promises, or swears to the observation of it, we are not told. From thence the new monarch goes and assists at divine service, and receives the holy communion. He is afterwards accompanied by his court and army to the royal tent, through the joyful acclamations of the people, and the whole solemnity is closed with feastings, and other tokens of joy [o] (G).

[o] Tellez, Almeyda, Ludolph, & al. sup, citat.

(G) There is an ancient stone, carved all over with unknown characters, standing at about the distance of two bow-shots from the cathedral of Axum, at which the emperor elect is obliged, as he goes thither, to alight, and perform the ceremony called the cutting of the cord; which is commonly a silk line, or ribbon, which the maidens of Axum hold across his road. The place, before his coming, is spread over with rich carpets: he being alighted, advances three times towards the silk line, and is asked by the maidens who hold it, who is he? to whom he answers, I am king of Israel; and they reply, then are you not our king; and he draws back. But being asked the same question at his third approach, and answering, I am king of Sion, he draws his sword, and cuts the cord with it; upon which, they joyfully cry, then are you truly our king, the king of Sion; upon which the air is immediately filled with the loudest acclamations of joy, with the firing of the army's small arms, and the sound of variety of warlike and other instruments. The cord being cut, the abuna, or metropolitan, and his clergy, who stood at some small distance from it, and come on purpose from Dembea to perform the ceremony, march forwards towards him, and introduce him into the outward court of the church, with proper psalms or canticles, in their own tongue; where being crowned and anointed, he is thence conducted into the church to hear divine service (a).

(a) Tellez, lib. iii. cap. 53. Ludolph, lib. ii. cap. 13.

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They have a plurality of wives of different religions.

The next grand ceremony relating to the Abyssinian monarchs, is that of their nuptials, and the manner of marrying, and declaring their empresses. We have already observed, that they allow themselves the liberty of having a plurality of them, like their ancient progenitor Solomon, king of the Jews: they not only imitate him in that particular, but likewise in taking those of different religions, whether Gentiles or Mohammedans; and some of them have carried this licence so far, as, like that Jewish monarch, to allow their heathen wives to have their own temples and idols; so that one might see on one side, the church of God, and on the other, a Pagan temple, as was the case in Sultan Segued's reign; though others indeed had so much regard to religion, as to cause those Pagan or Mohammedan princesses, to be instructed and baptized, before they married them. The generality of their princes, however, chuse to marry the daughters of noble families, of which there are abundance in some of their chief provinces and kingdoms, especially in that of Tigre: whilst some of them, paying a greater regard to the natural endowments of the mind, or the beauty of the person, than to the nobleness of their extract, which they thought added nothing to their own grandeur, chiefly chose them for the former; they being thought sufficiently ennobled, by being preferred to the imperial bed [p].

Chuse them from among their subjects.

Ceremony of their nuptials.

As soon at the monarch has pitched upon any young lady for his wife, she is brought away from her parents, and lodged in the house of some of his relations, in order to his being better acquainted with her good qualities. If he is satisfied with her in that point, he takes her with him to church on a Sunday, where having assisted at divine service, and received the holy communion, they are led back to the imperial pavilion, attended by the whole court, in their richest attire: there the abuna, or chief prelate, commonly performs the matrimonial ceremony; which ended, the emperor, as is usual at all other times, dines by himself in his own apartment, and she in her's, in company with a number of other ladies. The nobles and clergy are likewise sumptuously treated at other tables and tents; and the feast generally does not conclude among the male guests, till all the liquors, which had been

[p] Tellez, Almeyda, Alvarez, Lobo, & al. See Ludolph, lib. ii. cap. 6. § 99, & seq.

prepared

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prepared for them, are quite drank out: then every one lays himself down on the next convenient place that comes in his way, and sleeps till next morning; a custom observed, not only at these royal weddings but in most of their feastings[u]. *Feasting and carousing.*

The bride is not immediately declared empress, but is kept some days, weeks, or months, according to the emperor's pleasure; nor is she admitted to dwell with him in the royal pavilion, but hath one assigned near, separated from it by a different inclosure, and comes from thence when sent for. On the day she is to be installed itigue, or *empress*, she appears in his tent, seated on a couch near the imperial throne, on which his majesty sits likewise, but higher by one step; and both are clad in the richest apparel, as well as the nobles and officers of his court, who assist at the solemnity. Upon a signal made, one of his dignified chaplains, who is commonly a prelate, goes into the court, and standing on a chair or desk, proclaims her empress in these words, "Anagasna danguecera shem," that is, *We have ordained our slave to reign*, or, as Ludolph words it, *the kings hath created his servant — queen.* This is immediately answered by the loud echoes and acclamations of the by-standers; after which she is dignified with the title itigue, or ethie, which is equivalent to that of *highness*. As to the ceremony of crowning, we do not find that it was ever used, unless when the imperial dignity was solely invested in them: the emperors alone are honoured with it. *The queen, how proclaimed.* *When allowed to be called itigue, or highness.*

We have lately hinted, that the Abyssinian emperors are in holy orders; and, we are told, that many of them heretofore have been consecrated priests, and used to officiate as such, to consecrate the sacred elements, and to administer them to the people; but with this restriction, however, that if they ever chanced to shed human blood, whether it amounted to murder, or only man-slaughter, they were, ipso facto, deprived of their priestly office, and could never more officiate in it[x]. It is plain, that since the coming of the Portuguese among them, there have been none of those monarchs in higher orders than deacon's; a privilege, which it seems is granted likewise to the nobles and great officers of the court, and which, for aught we can find, is coveted by them for no other end than that they may not be obliged to remain with the common laity in *Emperors take holy orders.* *Mostly those of deacon.*

[u] Tellez, Almeyda, Alvarez, Lobo, & al. [x] Ludolph, lib. ii. cap. 1, § 68. Tellez, lib. i. cap. 10. supra citat.

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Their motive for it. the body of the church, but be admitted within the curtains (as they style that part of the chapel which answers, as we conjecture, to our chancel) among the clergy, and receive the communion with them. In consequence of this ordination, they are likewise allowed to carry little crosses in their hands when they go abroad, and to give them to the laity to kiss, as the rest of the clergy do[y]. This order of the diaconate is bestowed upon the children, and even sucking infants of great men, in order to entitle them to the same privileges; from which circumstances one may judge what regard the Abyssinians pay to the clergy, and their sacred functions; seeing the emperor himself, absolute as his power is in all other respects, would not be admitted into the sanctuary, or chancel, if he was not first ordained deacon, but must submit to receive the communion at the gates of it, with the rest of the laity: and these are, as far as we can see, all the orders so much talked about, of this pretended Prester John.

Bestowed upon infants.

The emperor's vast power.

Allows no kings under him.

But in all other respects, except what relates to church discipline, one may affirm, that his authority is boundless over his subjects. He is the only sovereign over all the kingdoms and provinces of the empire. He disposes of all the lands throughout his dominions, excepting in the kingdoms of Tigre and Dembea, where there are some noble and privileged families, whose properties and dignities he never alienates from the ancient possessors. Such are, in the former, the bahrnagaes and xumos, or governors of Sirave, Syre, Dembea, &c. and in the latter, the power of the cautiba, which never departs from the family: though even in these, the emperor, in one or two years, more or less, as he sees fit, takes these commands from the possessors, and gives them to some other of the same family.

It was their custom heretofore never to appear in public; and it was seldom known that they troubled themselves with the affairs of government, the care of which they chiefly committed to their two prime ministers, whom they called the bahluded, or *favourites*. That custom hath long ago been abolished, and they have since thought it more conveniennt to shew themselves to their subjects, at least three or four times a year; though none, even to this day, is allowed to see them eat, except the pages that feed them. Even the empress herself is denied that pri-

[y] Alvarez, cap. 97. Tellez, lib. i. cap. 10. Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 7. § 30, & seq.

vilege;

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vilege, though she eats in company with her ladies; and when they give audience to foreign ambassadors, they always sit behind a curtain out of sight. Instead of a favourite minister, they have created a chief officer, whom they call rash, or *principal*, and who is generalissimo. He hath under him two head overseers; the one styled bellatinoche goyta, or gouta, that is, *the lord of the servants*, who is a kind of high-steward. This officer's power extends, not only over all the viceroys, governors, xumos, and generals of the army, but likewise over the azagues and umbares, who are the civil judges of the empire. The other is styled takak, or zekase bellatinoche goyta, or *lord of the lesser servants*, and is only a kind of under-steward to the king's houshold, which is commonly composed of men of a lesser rank.

Chief officers of the empire.

The misfortune is, that not only these, but all places that are under them, are rather sold to the highest bidder than given to the worthiest; and consequently more is given for them than they are honestly worth: so that to be gainers, or even to save themselves, the purchasers are obliged to oppress all that are under them; and those governors and officers, from the highest to the lowest, become rather the plunderers than the protectors of the people. What is still worse, these last can obtain no redress against their oppressors; for though there be appeals from the inferior to the supreme courts, and even from them to the emperor, yet the remedy proves so often worse than the disease, that few, if any, dare venture upon it. But as this is the case of all arbitrary governments, where places, and justice itself, are venal, we shall not dwell longer upon this subject: only one inconvenience arising from that general corruption of offices and officers, we cannot forbear taking notice of, because, perhaps, more severely felt in this empire than in any other, viz. that the universal poverty and misery which it spreads every where, fills the whole country with swarms, not only of idle vagrants, but of desperate banditti, who range through all the provinces that are at a distance from the imperial camp, and through the remissness of the government, cannot be suppressed, or deterred from committing the greatest outrages on the poor natives, and travelling strangers, who go thither to traffic. Some writers allege, that these enormities are not only winked at, but even countenanced by the government; and that those banditti are incorporated under one chief, or captain, who pays a certain yearly tribute to the emperor [z].

Places all bought.

Appeals dangerous and few.

Which fills the country with robbers.

[z] Le Grand Dissertat. des Rois d'Abissin. p. 255.

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We observed that the viceroys and governors of the kingdoms and provinces of the empire were under the bellatinoche, as well as the military commanders and civil magistrates, or judges. All these hold their several courts of judicature, where all causes, either civil or criminal, are decided; only those of the martial kind, have martial officers to preside in them; the others are tried before the civil judges above mentioned: these last are called umbares, or *chairs*, because they alone are allowed to sit, whilst the plaintiff, defendant, and the rest, stand: upon certain occasions, they will even sit down upon the ground in the highway, or open field, to try a cause; and every body that will, may be present at it. They make use of no writing, nor keep any records, much less allow lawyers to argue for or against either; both plaintiff and defendant plead their own cause; the former speaks first, and the latter after him; each may answer and reply to the other three or four times, by turns; then the judge, commanding silence, asks the opinion of the by-standers; and, according as the evidence turns the scale, for the one or the other, pronounces sentence upon the spot, which in some cases is without appeal, but in others may be removed to a superior court; at first, to the viceroy, or governor; thence to the bellatinoche, or lord high steward; and lastly, from him to the emperor. In criminal cases, if the accused is cast, he is either kept prisoner by the judge till he has made satisfaction to the accuser; or if the crime be capital, he is delivered up to the plaintiff, to be punished with death, at his discretion, and that of the relations of the deceased; which custom they seem to have borrowed, among many others, from the Jews; and these relations either sell the murderer's life for a certain value, or put him to death in what manner they please. But when a murder cannot be sufficiently proved against any man, all the inhabitants of the place are severely fined, or condemned to some corporal punishment; which at once prevents all concealments of that kind, and a great deal of blood-shed. The greatest inconvenience of these courts of justice, is, that they allow of no witnesses to be heard, but those of the plantiff; which it is not always in the power of the defendant to invalidate.

Justice how administered.

Altogether venal.

Capital punishments.

May be redeemed.

They have here three kinds of capital punishments; the first is, that of burying the criminal in the earth, quite up to his mouth, then covering his head with thorns and briars, and laying a heavy stone upon them; the second is, that of beating them to death with thick clubs, about

How inflicted.

two

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two feet long; but the third and most usual is, that of piercing them with their zagays, or lances; in which case, the nearest relation of the deceased makes the first thrust, the rest following him in due order; even those that come last, or after the criminal is expired, commonly dip their weapons in his blood, to shew that they are likewise concerned to revenge the murder of their relation. What is still more dreadful, and in some measure barbarous, is, the feasting and loud rejoicings which these relations make over the criminal, from the time that he is delivered up into their hands to his execution, but more particularly on the night preceding it; to all which rejoicings the prisoner is witness, as well as to the preparations which are made for his death; a circumstance, which frequently exasperates his own relations to such a degree, that it scarcely fails of ending in the death of some of his most zealous prosecutors [b].

Prosecutors cruel in inflicting them.

The emperor's army is nothing answerable to the extent of his dominions, nor indeed to the exigencies of them, considering how they are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and how frequently his frontier provinces are invaded and plundered by them. They seldom exceed forty thousand men, when he brings them all into the field, but often fall very short of that number. Of them, between four and five thousand are horse, and the rest foot; and of the former, about fifteen hundred are well sized, mounted, and accoutred; and about one half wear coats of mail and head-pieces, but all the rest are as indifferently armed and accoutered, having no other arms, offensive or defensive, than a spear and buckler. They are very little acquainted with fire-arms, and as poorly furnished with powder and ball. There are in the whole about fifteen hundred fire-arms, and not above three or four hundred musqueteers in any action, and they, for the greatest part so ill trained to the use of them, that they never fire after the first discharge, for want of a greater supply of ammunition. Their armies, battalions, and squadrons, are commonly drawn up with little regularity, so that the very first shock frequently begins and ends the battle; one side turning their backs, and the other pursuing, without ever endeavouring to rally; neither is it looked upon as a disgrace to run away from the enemy, because it is become a common practice.

The emperor's army.

Their weapons.

Want of fire-arms and martial discipline.

[b] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, Codign, &c. lib. i. cap. 16, & seq. also No. xxxv. pass.

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The soldiers stout and hardy.

Poor allowance.

Carry their families with them.

It may be justly said, nevertheless, of the Abyssinian soldiery, that if they perform no better, it is entirely owing to want of discipline; for they commonly are very stout and hardy, inured to hunger, thirst, and fatigue, beyond expression. Their slender subsistence they derive from the few lands which the emperor allows them, whilst they continue in his service, to live upon, and no longer; for as soon as they begin to fail, they are taken from them and given to those who supply their place. What is still harder, they take their wives and children along with them; and these are commonly so numerous, that a camp of thirty thousand men, may be justly said to consist of above a hundred thousand persons, all obliged to live on the product of the lands, which are assigned to them for their maintenance: and hence it is that the Abyssinian monarchs are able to raise such great armies upon any occasion with so little charge, all their subjects being either farmers or soldiers.

Drums and other martial instruments.

In all engagements the emperor is surrounded, not only by his household and guards, but likewise by all his nobles and chief ministers, who compose a small kind of separate army. In this, as well as in the rest of the great body, they have the use of drums and kettle drums, besides trumpets, hautboys, flutes, and other instruments, the music of which is rather loud than harmonious. The army is always attended with a vast number of priests, and prelates, who not only perform divine service in pavilions assigned for that purpose, but likewise escort and attend the sacred utensils that are made use of in it, with great pomp and ceremony[d].

His revenue whence.

The imperial revenue chiefly arises from the four following branches: the tribute paid to him by the governors of such provinces and kingdoms as are said to have gold mines, particularly those of Enarea and Gojam, from which he receives a certain weight yearly of that metal; but whether arising from any mines in those parts, or from their commerce with the Caffres, and other neighbouring nations, we cannot be certain. This is reckoned one of the most considerable branches; and yet, according to father Almeyda's account, which he assures us he had from the emperor Segued's own mouth, amounts but to about five or six thousand oukeas, or ounces, per ann. The next branch of the imperial revenue, arises from the sale of all the great places in the empire; such as the viceroyships,

First branch of it.

Second branch.

[d] Tellez, Alvar. & al. sup. citat.

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governments of kingdoms and provinces, and other offices and posts of trust, the yearly tribute they pay to the emperor, for being continued in them, as likewise for the product of those lands which are in their respective governments: for as all the lands in general appertain to him in chief, these governors do, in some sense, farm them from him, and pay him a yearly proportion of their product; though, in this respect, they are very far from either cultivating them to the best advantage, or from paying him a due proportion of their income. The kingdom of Tigre is by far the largest, and hath the greatest number of governments; and that of Dembea, the richest of all; and yet the former, according to father Almeyda, brings him in no more than about twenty-five thousand, and the latter fifty thousand French livres. The third branch consists in a tenth, which he levies every third year, upon all the cattle in the empire. By this last imposition, every man that hath cows, is obliged to pay him one out of ten every third year; and the country breeding vast quantities of them, this tax is by far the most considerable branch of the three. It is, moreover, so well distributed among the various kingdoms and provinces of the empire, that there is pretty near an equal quantity of them brought in every year. *Third branch.*

To this we may add a fourth, though not so considerable, laid upon every loom of cotton cloth, which, if it belongs to a Christian, pays one piece of cloth, and if to a Mahommedan, a piece of eight, per ann. By this duty are gathered, in the kingdom of Dembea, and parts adjacent, about one thousand of these pieces, and in that of Gojam three thousand; besides about two hundred bissetes, which are a thicker and stronger cotton cloth, all shagged on one side. The same is levied in other kingdoms and provinces of the empire, but is mostly bestowed on, or swallowed up by their rapacious governors. *Fourth branch.*

These are pretty near the whole of all the so much boasted riches and great revenues of the Abyssinian monarchs; of which, though there be no possibility of knowing the exact amount, because, for the most part, it rises and falls, according to the munificence or frugality of the prince, and many other obvious causes, yet plainly appears to come very short of what one may expect from so vast an empire, so great a number of kingdoms and provinces, and such an immense extent of pasture and arable ground, of which he is the sole proprietor and disposer. *The whole inconsiderable.*

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SECT. VII.

Of the Religion of the Abyssinians, both before and since their Conversion to the Christian Faith, and the Hierarchy of their Church.

The Jewish religion brought into Abyssinia.

WE have already hinted, that the Abyssinians pretend to have received the Jewish rites, together with a continued series of monarchs, from Solomon, the great king of Israel, who caused the son whom he had by their celebrated queen to be educated in the Mosaic religion, and sent him back into Abyssinia, accompanied by many eminent doctors of the law, and particularly by Azariah, the son of Zadoc, the then Jewish high-priest, by whose assistance the Jewish religion was propagated through the whole empire, and continued to be professed in it, till their conversion to Christianity.

The only record they have of this remarkable transaction, except a common tradition, which hath been firmly believed by them from time immemorial, is so clogged with difficulties, and mixed with fable, that we cannot much rely on its authority.

An ancient record of their queen visiting king Solomon.

It imports, that a great and potent queen, named Azeb, or Makeda, reigning in Ethiopia, being informed of the great power and wisdom of Solomon, by a merchant named Tamerin, and being desirous to be an ear and eye-witness of it, took a journey to Jerusalem, attended by a vast retinue of the greatest princes and nobles of Ethiopia, and carrying with her an immense treasure. There Solomon instructed her in the knowlege of the true God; and upon her return home, at the end of nine months, she was delivered of a son, begotten by Solomon, who was called Menilehech, and by another name, David. This son went afterwards to Jerusalem, to see his father Solomon, and was magnificently entertained by him, and anointed, and sworn king of Ethiopia by Zadoc and Joash, the then high-priests. When he was thoroughly instructed in the law of God, his father assigned him several of the first-born of Israel to attend and serve him in Ethiopia, and furnished him with officers and servants belonging to the house of Judah, together with a high-priest, Levites, and doctors in the law of Moses.

Hitherto there is nothing in the whole relation, but what is extremely probable; but the same book tells us, that

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that these first-born of Israel, at the instigation of Azariah the son of Zadoc, bound themselves by a mutual oath, to fetch away the ark of the covenant, which they style the heavenly Sion; and that going by night into the temple, the gates of which, by some singular providence, they found open, they put the ark upon a cart; and being attended by abundance of people, they marched off with such haste, that Solomon, who pursued them with great speed, could not overtake them. With the same surprising expedition they went over the Red Sea, as the children of Israel had formerly done, but with this difference, that whereas the Israelites crossed it on foot, and without being wet, they fled over it in their chariots, so that the waters assisted the one, and the air the other, in their flight. *Menilehech and his Jews carry off the ark.*

When queen Makeda was informed that her son had been anointed king, and was not only returning with such a grand retinue, but had brought with him the ark of the God of Sion, she went forth with great pomp and solemnity to meet them, and placed the sacred ark in the temple of the land of Makeda, and caused all the people of Ethiopia to receive the knowlege of the true God; so that there were not in the whole world, at that time, any monarchs comparable to king Solomon in Palestine, and to queen Makeda in Ethiopia. The book farther adds, that the queen afterwards resigned her kingdom to her son David, and obliged him, and all the grandees of the empire, to swear by the heavenly Sion, that they would not from that time forward ever admit any woman to the throne of Ethiopia, nor any but the male descendants from his body [b].

This is the substance of that famous record, and it contains many other circumstances, equally uncertain, and some of them too fabulous to deserve farther notice; nevertheless, it is upon the whole, respected as of great authority by all the Abyssinians: nor is it any great wonder, that a people no less fond of such surprising and miraculous peculiarities than the rest of the eastern and southern nations, should, in process of time, interpolate that ancient record with such fabulous stuff, in order to raise a greater veneration for the tabot, or altar-chest, upon which they celebrate the communion service.

The next article relating to the Abyssinian religion, is their conversion to Christianity; and this great change *When first converted to Christianity.*

[b] Tellez, lib. i. Ludolph. lib. i. cap. 2. § 3, & seq.

they firmly believe to have been the work of the famed eunuch, or prime-minister, of their queen Candace, or, as they call her, Handake. The account which the ancient record, or book above mentioned, gives, is, according to father Almeyda, much the same with that which we have of his conversion, in the gospel of St. Luke, with this addition only, that upon his return into Ethiopia, he gave the queen his mistress a full account of all that had happened unto him, and what had passed between Philip the deacon and him, in his way homewards; upon which that princess believed in the gospel of the grace of Jesus Christ: but, besides that the learned are not agreed whether this princess was really queen of this Ethiopia, or Abyssinia, or of the island of Meroe, we can scarcely date the conversion of that empire from this one instance; the book mentioning only that princess as believing in Christ, without observing that any of her subjects followed her example: besides, Philip being neither bishop nor priest, but only a deacon, could have no power to qualify the eunuch for a preacher of the gospel; neither had he time sufficient to instruct him thoroughly in it, or perhaps to give him more than a general idea, that Jesus was the Christ, the redeemer of mankind, and had by his miracles, death, and resurrection, fully proved himself to be the promised Messiah and Saviour of the world. We may even question whether he did mention any thing to him about the abrogation of the law of Moses by the cross; so that both he and his proselytes, if he made any other besides that princess, did, in all probability, continue in the observance of it, as they still do, since their fuller conversion; particularly with regard to the rite of circumcision, and the keeping of the seventh day as the Christian sabbath.

Frumentius ordained bishop of Axuma, who converts the Abyssinians.

It is more probable, therefore, that whatever foundation might be laid by that great proselyte, yet the general conversion of that great empire was not perfected till after the year of Christ 335, when Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, being informed by Frumentius of the good disposition which the queen and her subjects were in to receive the gospel, ordained him bishop of Axuma, and sent him to propagate it through Ethiopia. From this time Christianity began to flourish through the empire, and the true faith was so firmly founded by that zealous prelate, that when Constantius the emperor came to be informed of it, he tried all the arts and stratagems he could invent to introduce Arianism among them, to no effect, though

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though they afterwards fell into the errors of Eutyches and Dioscorus.

At the same time the discipline of the church was settled conformably to that of Alexandria; priests and deacons were every where ordained; liturgies, articles, and canons, settled and confirmed by the same Alexandrian patriarch; and among the latter, one by which the Abyssinian church acknowleges that of Alexandria as her mother, and herself as wholly subject and dependent upon her, insomuch, that it deprives her of the power of choosing her own bishop, or of receiving him from any but the patriarchs of Alexandria, in whom alone the power is vested, both to nominate and consecrate them. What is still more remarkable, it excludes the Abyssinians from having one of their own nation for their abuna, or patriarch. The clergy and people pay such religious regard to this canon, which they deem to be as ancient as their conversion, that they would look upon it as a kind of heresy and apostacy to question its authority[1]. As our reader may be desirous to know the tenor of that ancient instrument of their subjection, we shall oblige him with a copy of it in the margin, according to the version of Abraham Ecchellensis, as the clearest of the two; that of Turenius being in some places scarcely intelligible (C).

The

[1] Tellez, ubi supra, cap. 19. Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 6 & 7. Lobo, Le Grand, &c.

(C) This singular piece, which is the forty-second in Ecchellensis, and the thirty-sixth in Turenius's collection, runs thus, with respect to the points above mentioned:

"Ne patriarcham sibi constituant Æthiopes, ex suis doctoribus, neque propriâ electione, quia patriarcha ipsorum est constitutus sub Alexandrini potestate, cujus est ipsis ordinare et præficere catholicum qui inferior patriarchæ est, cui prefato in patriarcham constituto, nomine catholici, non licebit metropolitanos constituere, sicut constituunt patriarchæ; etenim honor nominis patriarchatus illi defertur tantummodo, non vero potestas. Porro si acciderit ut congregetur synodus in terra Romanorum, et adfuerit iste, sedeat loco octavo post dominum Seleuciæ, in qua est Alma-dajoint, nempe Babylonia Harrac, quoniam isti facta est potestas constituendi episcopos suæ provinciæ, prohibitumque fuit ne ullus eorum ipsum constituat."

This collection is neither to be found in the Greek, nor mentioned by any Greek author: we are neither told when, by whom, nor on what occasion, it was made; neither is

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The Abyssinian clergy have been most religious observers of it, never once complaining against it, or ever appearing uneasy under such a foreign subjection, or at their being so unjustly and unnaturally excluded from the succession to that dignity, though they have so much greater a right, and are naturally so much better qualified for it, than any stranger that could ever be set over them, unless he had been thoroughly acquainted with their language, which, for aught we can find to the contrary, was ever the least of his care [k]. They have shewed themselves still more strenuous in their adherence to it, when their emperors had the greatest reason to resent the arbitrary proceedings of those prelates, and their frequent presuming to oppose them in civil affairs, till being justly tired with the tyranny of the Alexandrian patriarchs, and their Abyssinian substitutes, who grew still more intolerable, after these became subject to, and the mere creatures of, the Ottoman Porte, their professed enemy, they were reduced at length to that strange and dangerous expedient, of exchanging an Egyptian for a Romish servitude. This was a very proper time to have proposed a middle way, more reasonable in itself, as well as more advantageous to themselves, that of choosing a patriarch of their own, and making themselves equally independent on Rome and Alexandria. Of how much greater and more universal benefit, both to the clergy and people, as well as ease and safety to their monarchs, such revolution would have proved, than the applying to the pope, and the Portuguese, upon such an emergency, could not but be visible to every eye; and the clergy, who would have been the greatest gainers by it, must, one would imagine, have proved the most zealous promoters of it; yet we find them no less strenuous and indefatigable in ascertaining their subjection to the see of Alexandria, than they were

Abyssinians strenuous in their subjection to them.

[k] Id. ibid. vide & Codign, Goes, & al. pl.

any Abyssinian prelate recorded to have assisted at any synod or council, by which one might know what rank they held in it; and as it is not probable that any rank should have been assigned to them after they fell into the Jacobitish errors, so it is more reasonable to conclude, that this collection was made at Alexandria before the Arabs made themselves masters of that place; and that the church of Antioch, and afterwards that of Abyssinia, received it as they found it.

In

in opposing the authority of that of Rome, which was going to be introduced amongst them. Neither did they ever take one step towards obtaining better terms, but have constantly adhered to the strict tenor of the canon above mentioned, and tamely submitted to such abunas, or patriarchs, as their Alexandrian metropolitan, if not rather the Ottoman Porte, whose vassal he is, hath thought proper to set over them; so that, upon the whole, the government of the Abyssinian church hath continued in the very same form in which it was settled by their first bishop Frumentius, or Fremonatos[l], sent thither by St. Athanasius; and it is owing to the great veneration they have for that prelate, to whom they give the title of saint, and of abba salama, or *peaceable father*, as well as the singular regard they pay to the authority of the canon above mentioned, which they believe to have been framed either by him or the patriarch Athanasius, that they have never since ventured to make any alteration in it to this very day.

This patriarchate, therefore, which is the highest ecclesiastical dignity in the Abyssinian empire, and wholly subject to that of Alexandria, plainly appears from the tenor of the aboveseid canon, as well as from the constant practice of that church, to be no more than a mere title without power. He is by his clergy called abuna, or *our father*: he may in his letters take the title of patriarch, or catholic; but hath no power to create any metropolitans under him, as other patriarchs and catholics have; neither hath the Abyssinian church ever had any more than one at a time, since their proto-patriarch Frumentius; nor had any of them ever any bishop under them: as none have ever presided in that church, but such as were consecrated and appointed by the Alexandrian patriarchs, except a few that were sent thither by the pope, of whom we shall speak in the sequel; so hath it ever followed the faith and doctrine of its mother-church unto this day [m].

The abuna, or patriarch, the only bishop.

These abunas, however, if we may believe the missionary writers, have, for the most part, been very ignorant, as well as negligent, in their office, whether of instructing the people, or conferring of holy orders. As to the first, it is no wonder, seeing they are strangers to the language of the country; but as to the latter, we are told, they will refuse to ordain those that have been twice married, and at the same time will admit the blind and

Vastly ignorant and remiss.

[l] See Le Grand, Dissert. xv. de Hierarch. Abyssin. Pays, Telles, & al. supra citat.

[m] Alvarez,

lame,

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lame, by the imposition of hands, and repetition of a few words, without administring the holy communion to them: so that those good fathers much question the validity of their ordination, as well as of the baptism, and other sacraments, administered by them.

Strange manner of giving absolution.

The manner of absolving penitents in public, from their episcopal chair, is still more strange: these stand before the bishop, and confess two or three of their most heinous sins; upon hearing of which, he stands up, and in a great passion asks them, how they could do so? and whether they did not fear God? The rest of the absolution is performed by giving them three or four heavy strokes with his pastoral staff; after which he consigns them over to some of his mazares, or *officers*, that attend him on such occasions, and orders them thirty or forty lashes more with a thong, which those officers carry in their hands to keep off the people. This punishment is the more severe, as they go so thinly clad; but by that time they have received seven or eight strokes, the by-standers commonly interceding for the penitent, he is permitted to go off with his partial absolution, which they think, however, more full and effectual, than that which is obtained by private confession. We cannot but have a melancholy idea of that church's discipline and government; if to the ignorance and remissness of those patriarchs, we add their wicked lives, many of them being branded with the worst of crimes, and accused of having lived publicly in the most scandalous manner.

Some abunas not so much as in priestly orders.

Nay, some of the abunas, that have been sent thither from Alexandria, were so far from being ordained bishops, that they were not so much as in priestly orders, but were mere lay monks. Such was that Alexandrian monk, of whom the patriarch Alphonso Mendez speaks, sent thither to succeed abuna Simeon, and immediately acknowleged and complimented as such, who being afterwards deposed by the emperor Segued, and soon after persuaded by the missionaries to turn to their church, did frankly own that he was no bishop, but a bare lay monk. This man, we are told, married afterwards, and got his living by making mills, for which he proved much better qualified than for the office of abuna.

Their revenue and perquisites.

There remains now only, that we should give a short account of the revenue of these worthless prelates, before we speak of the inferior clergy. One branch of their income arises from the grant, or, as we may then more properly term it, the prostitution of dispensations, of which

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which they are the sole dispofers, as having no bishops under them to share that privilege, nor any comptroller over them to oblige them to keep close to the tenor of their canons; so that in many instances they extend their power to a shameful degree [n]. They likewise have the sole privilege of ordaining; and this brings them a considerable income; few or none being received into holy orders, unless they send some equivalent offering beforehand to gain them admittance.

Lands very considerable.

Besides these, which we may style simoniacal perquisites, they have certain lands assigned to them in the kingdom of Tigre, Gojam, and Dembea, of which they are the sole farmers. The first of these are computed to bring them in about forty or fifty oakus, or *ounces*, of gold, per ann. or about four or five hundred pieces of eight: those of Dembea and Gojam afford them a more than sufficient quantity of provisions for their own table, the remainder of which he disposes of to his own profit: to this we may add a kind of public collection of salt and cloth, which is yearly made for him through the empire, and amounts to a considerable value; all these articles put together, make up a very considerable revenue; and the more so, as their lands are free from all taxes to the emperor, and their other perquisites so extensive and arbitrary. Add to this, that they have no particular cathedral, nor sumptuous palaces to keep in repair, nor hardly any officers and underlings to pay salaries to; these commonly arising from the nature of their places, which they know full well how to make the most of.

The debtaras, or chanters.

The next order of ecclesiastics, if not in rank and dignity, yet in vogue and esteem, is that of the debtaras. These are neither priests nor deacons, but a mongrel kind of Jewish Levites, or chanters, who assist at all public offices of the church, and whose head, or superior, called barca guyta, hath the care and direction of the sacred pavilions in the imperial camp. As these boast themselves of Jewish extraction, they pretend, by the songs, dances, and beating of their drums and tabors, to imitate the service of the Jewish tabernacle and temple of Jerusalem, and the dancing of king David before the ark. Though their noise, and horrid din and gestures, are fitter for a masquerade than a church, yet in such esteem are they held, that even some of the princes and grandees have taken singular pride to beat time to them, or beat upon

[n] Tellez, Ludolph, et al. supra citat.

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their tabors. These debtaras always attend at their high masses. On their grand festivals they begin their music and dancing long before day, and are able to continue that hard exercise till noon, without appearing in the least tired or hoarse °.

The priests, and their office, the komos.

The priests are the next order to the bishops; but as they have none of these but the abuna, they have instead of them, those they style komos, who preside over them. Of this order was Petrus Ethiops, whom Paul Jovius conversed with. Every parochial church hath one of these, who is a kind of hegumenus, or archi-presbyter, and hath all the inferior priests and deacons, as well as the secular affairs of the parish, under his care and government. As they have no bishops over them, they preside in chief at divine service, and distribute the several offices of the inferior clergy, and compound their disputes; so that they may be reckoned the highest order next to the abuna. The office of the inferior priests is to supply that of the komos in their absence, and when present, to assist him in the divine service, to baptise, marry, visit the sick, and interr the dead.

Deacons.

The deacons are the lowest rank of the priesthood, and likewise assist at divine service, having their proper offices and vestments when they officiate. We have already taken notice, that this order is conferred by the abunas on the emperor, princes, grandees, and even on their children; not that they may have the privilege of officiating as such, but only to assist at the divine service, and receive the communion in the chancel with the clergy, and be separate from the laity, who stand in the body of the church.

Priests and deacons marry.

All these orders are allowed to marry, and may even do so after they have been ordained priests. Their sons also are allowed to succeed them in their church benefices; but as they have for the most part, very large families, they are commonly very poor, and forced to supply their wants by labour and industry, chiefly by farming and pasturage; a circumstance which renders them less respected than they are in other countries, especially as they wear no particular dress, tonsure, or other mark of the priestly office, except a little cross which they carry in their hands, and bless the people with, and a small round cap, of any colour, which they wear on their heads. Neither have they

° Tellez. lib. i. cap. 19. Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 7. sect. 26. Le Grand, Dissert. xix. de Hierarch.

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the immunities which those of other churches enjoy, but are liable to be punished by the lay magistracy, in the same manner as secular persons, for any crime they commit [p].

They pay a great respect to their churches, and never enter them but barefoot. They therefore took great offence at the Portuguese missionaries, when they saw them celebrate the mass with their shoes, or sandals, on their feet. The vestments they use in that divine service, are suited to the dignity of the person that officiates, but the best of them are vastly short of those which the meanest Romish priest wears on such occasions. Instead of the alba, or white linen garment, which is used by the latter, they wear a tunic, bought of the Turks, which is commonly old and thread-bare. They use neither girdle, stole, nor maniple; and as to their chasuble, or upper ornament, it is narrow, and trails behind about half a yard. Divine service consists of a set of prayers, psalms, and hymns, suitable to the seasons, and judiciously enough composed; for the most part, performed with great decency and devotion, and without any thing of that pomp and ceremony which is used in the church of Rome. This divine service, which is performed but once a day, begins on Sundays, and great festivals, in the morning, and ends about noon: on Wednesdays, Fridays, and other fasting days, it begins about three in the afternoon, their usual time of eating, and at sun-set in Lent; which, as hath been elsewhere observed, they keep with uncommon strictness and severity.

Pay a great respect to their churches.

Priestly vestments.

They have no bells throughout Abyssinia, but call the people to church by the sound of some wooden hammers, which they strike upon a hollow board or stone. The priest and laity are separated from each other; the former, in a kind of choir, like that of our cathedrals, and the latter in the body of the church, by a curtain drawn between, which hinders them from seeing, though not from hearing, divine service, which is performed within. They have neither pews, benches, nor hassocks in their churches, but continue standing all the time of worship. Though the greatest part of their churches are now so poor and mean, that they are only covered with a little straw or reeds, they pay such a regard to them, that those who go thither on horseback will alight at a considerable distance from the gates, and enter them with their feet

The people how called to church.

[p] Tellez, et al. ubi sup. Codign, Jarric, & al.

bare.

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bare. Nor are any men or women, under any natural pollution, or even after the matrimonial intercourse, permitted to set foot in them, till after due ablution.

No carved images.

In none of these sacred edifices, are any statues, or carved images, of any kind, to be seen, or any figures, but pictures; any other, though but in bass-relief, would be looked upon by them as rank idolatry: much less would they suffer any crucifixes, whether carved, or cast in metal, to be seen in them, or to be worn about their necks, representing a naked Saviour hanging on the cross. We are told indeed of a curious small piece of that kind, which was presented by Poncet to the emperor Segued, anno 1700, which that monarch viewed with some admiration, kissed it with great respect, and laid it up among his curiosities [q]. But if we consider, that he professed himself more than half a convert to the Roman church, and was then courting the friendship and assistance of the Portuguese, he could hardly avoid doing so before him; yet he did not dare to wear it about him, for fear of alarming both clergy and people.

Manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper.

Every church hath a small room behind the east end, in which are reposited the materials for making the communion bread, which is allowed to be a leavened cake, and is consequently contrary to the unleavened wafer used by the Romish church. This cake is not kept till the next day, much less preserved whole weeks and months, like consecrated wafers, which the Romanists give to the laity, more particularly that which is vulgarly called the host, and is kept in a particular repository over the altar, in order to be taken out and exposed to the people, and to receive their prayers, incense, and adoration; some of which have been kept so long in the pix, that they have bred worms, or have been otherwise damaged, and made unfit for use.

Give the cup to the laity.

They differ no less from them in the other part of that sacred rite: instead of wine, from which they abstain altogether, they keep in this same little room a small quantity of dried raisins, of which they take four or five, more or less, and squeeze and macerate with their fingers, in a quantity of water, greater or less, according to the number of communicants; for they administer the cup also to the laity. They likewise differ in their form of consecration; and instead of "this is my body," and "this

[q] Poncet's Voyage into Ethiopia, p. 7.

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is my blood," they say, "this bread is my body," and "this cup is my blood."

They do not admit laymen and women to come up to the altar to receive, but administer it to them at the door of the chapel or choir. Neither do they oblige them to receive it kneeling, but standing. The priest, in giving the bread, uses these words; "The holy flesh of Immanuel, our God of truth, which he took of the lady of us all:" the communicant answers, "Amen, amen." The deacon comes next, and gives the wine, with a little spoon, and says, "this is the blood of Jesus Christ, for the life of the flesh and soul, and for everlasting life." Then a subdeacon pours a small quantity of water into the palm of the communicant's hand, with which he rinses his mouth, and swallows it. The laity are excluded from seeing every part of the divine service, except only the giving them the communion at the chapel door, and the hearing of the gospel read by the officiating priest without the chancel, and not at the altar; neither doth what they call the gospel consist of select portions out of the Evangelists; but here they divide the four gospels into so many portions, that one of them serves them a whole year, and after that the next; so that they are four years in going through the whole; they likewise constantly close the reading of it with an hallelujah, even when the service is performed for the dead[r]. *Receive standing.*

Religious orders are here very numerous, and their monasteries stand so thick, that when they are at their divine service one congregation disturbs another. Their music, indeed, must of course be very loud, not only from the numerous voices of the singers, but from the variety of instruments that are heard with them: these are commonly drums and tabors, of several forms and sizes, to which they add stamping with their feet, and striking the ground with their long staffs. Besides all this, we are told, that almost every one of those monasteries hath two churches or chapels, one for the men, the other for the women; but when, or whence this custom was introduced amongst them, is not easy to guess from any of their records, any more than the precise time when the monastic life began, and how, or by whom, it was introduced, and of what orders the first founders of these monasteries were. The ancient chronicle of Axuma, often *Their monasteries and orders of monks.*

[r] Ludolph, ubi supra, lib. v. sect. liv. & seq. Tellez, ibid. Jarric, Coding. & al. plur.

quoted

quoted in this chapter, tells us, that in the days of Amiamid, many monks came from Rum, who filled all the empire, nine of whom staid in the kingdom of Tigre, and each of them erected a church of his own name; and the author of the life of Tekla Haymanot, adds, "that he came to the monastery of Damo, built by Abba Agaravi, one of the nine worthies above mentioned, who came also from Rum and Egypt in the days of Almida, the son of Salodeba, the predecessor of Tacena; and that those nine, like so many bright stars, filled the world with their brightness." The people afterwards found names, it seems, for the other eight; but one only appears of Greek extract, viz. that of Pantaleon, who became a founder of another monastery. It is therefore very difficult, from these two accounts, to fix not only the precise time of their arrival, but the true import of the word Rum, whether it means Rome or Greece.

The monks that came from Rum were in all probability the Therapeutes of Egypt, who had been converted to Christianity by St. Mark. We need not go now so far as Thrace or Constantinople for the meaning of the word Rum, since Rum Misraim means no more than Higher or Upper Egypt, in which these ascetics swarmed. Neither need we descend so low as the fifth century, for the first introduction of them into Abyssinia, since their neighbourhood to it, the conformity of religion and customs, not to mention the boasted pedigree of the Abyssinian princes from Solomon, could hardly fail of inviting even the Jewish Therapeutes thither, especially as the country every where abounds with rocky solitudes, the most adapted to a recluse and ascetic life. How much more easily may we suppose them to have spread themselves over this empire, soon after its conversion to Christianity, if we admit that many of them became profelytes to the gospel so early as St. Mark's patriarchate, and formed themselves into societies under his rule and government[s].

The monasteries of Abyssinia bear no resemblance at all to those of the Roman, Greek, Armenian, and other Christian churches, either with regard to their structure, form, church-service, government, or discipline; but appear, in all these points, the very transcripts of those of the Essenians and Therapeutes, as described by Josephus and Philo. Instead of being enclosed within stout high

[s] Vide Euseb. Anc. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 17. Bellarmin, Baronius, Montfaucon, Basnage, & al.

walls,

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walls, they appear only like so many large villages or parishes, in which every monk hath his hut or cell, at a distance from each other. Instead of being confined within their walls, and not being permitted to stir out without the superior's leave, these, except at the times of their devotions, may range where they please. Instead of leading an idle life, and living upon the charity and benefactions of the laity, these spend most of their spare time in cultivating each the portion of land which is assigned to him. Instead of eating in common, and having their tables served with variety of flesh, fish, fowl, and other dainties, and having a competent portion of wine to help their digestion, these eat their small pittance within their homely cells, which is commonly the product of their own grounds, and of their own rearing; a few herbs, pulse, or roots, without any other condiment than a little salt, and on holidays a little butter, or even any other diluter than plain water. Instead of that delicious variety of lenten dishes, which the Roman catholic monks are allowed, at least once a day, together with a small collation at night, the most part of these never eat above once every two days during their whole lent, which takes up almost one third part of the year. At this period they live upon unsavoury herbs, not so much as allowing themselves either bread or butter to eat with them; and some there are amongst them who, during all that time, will abstain from all manner of sustenance, except on Sundays. Instead of excluding women from their communities, they have, like the Jewish monastics above mentioned, some orders among them, which allow them in the married life, to bring up their families in the same way, and distribute their lands, cells, and what other few goods they have, amongst them; but these do not admit their wives and daughters into their churches, but have particular chapels for their use, to which they repair at all the canonical hours of the day and night, with the same exactness as practised by the men; and they use much the same divine service, except the additional music of drums and tabors, which are peculiar to the latter. There are, however, other orders that wholly abstain from all commerce with the female sex, and never admit them to live within the limits of their monasteries[t]. We may also mention here a third sort, who prefer the

Laborious life.

Great abstinence.

Strict observance of Lent.

Separate chapels for the women.

[t] Vide Tellez, lib. i. cap. 17. Ludolph. lib. iii. cap. 3.

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eremitical life, as best adapted for contemplation; and for that reason chuse to abide in towers, caves, caverns, or on the tops of high rocks, and other lonesome and unfrequented retreats. These are commonly more highly esteemed and reverenced than the rest by the bulk of the people.

Frequent ablutions. But to return to those of the monastic kind: they likewise differ from those of the Christian churches in many other particulars, which we have no time to dwell upon; such as the ablutions after any accidental defilements, observation of the sabbath, circumcision, and other Jewish rites; and more particularly in the proper choice of their other works of mortification. They know not the use of the monkish discipline, and other punishments, which perhaps rather stimulate than damp the fleshly appetites; instead of which they will plunge themselves into the coldest rivers, and continue in them, with the water up to their chin, for some hours together, and even whole days, in the coldest weather; the very apprehension of which penance would be enough to throw some of the most mortified monks of Rome and Greece into a quartan ague.

Mortifications.

Mean way of living. The greatness of those monasteries consists in the number of their religious, and the vast extent of lands they possess; in every one of which we see nothing but meanness, their very churches and chapels are most of them thatched, and void of all ornaments, except, perhaps, some few ordinary paintings. They have neither refectories nor halls, and their cells are of clay, small, low, thatched, and meanly furnished. Every thing within them is answerable to the mortified life of their inhabitants. Their beds are poor mats lying upon the floor, their chairs and tables of the same materials, only raised a little higher with earth.

There are two different orders of them, who are called by the name of their founders, or rather reformers, viz. those of Tekla Haymanot, and of Abba Eustatius; the former a native of Ethiopia, and the latter of Egypt: the order of the former have a kind of general amongst them, whom they call ikegue, chosen by the abbas, or heads of every monastery under him; the other have only a superior, styled abba, or *father*, over each monastery, chosen by the majority of votes of the monks belonging to it; but whether annually or triennally, we are not told. With respect to the habit they wear, except their ashæma, among the abbas or priors, who are the only order that wear

General.

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wear it, and which is only a little braid of three thongs of red leather, which they put about their necks, and fasten with an iron or copper hook, every one clothes himself as he thinks fit, or as he can best afford, but all of them meanly; and the cloth or skin which covers the body is girt about with a leathern strap. Some of them go bare-headed, like all the laity, others wear a kind of hat, others some sort of caps, and some cover their heads with a piece of cloth. Those who affect a more ascetic life, now and then, as their fancy leads them, distinguish themselves at pleasure; some by a yellow skin, hollowed and worn about their neck; others by a piece of cloth of the same colour and shape; a third sort, by a black kind of mantle, which they throw over their shirt or cassock, which last is commonly white, and girt with a leathern thong like the rest; but some chuse to have both mantle and cassock of the same black colour. In these particulars they totally differ from all other monks, whether Roman, Greek, or Armenian; but agree exactly with what we read in Philo and Josephus concerning the Therapeutes and Essenians. So that, upon the whole, those nine founders above mentioned appear to us rather to be reformers, or, to speak more properly, the persons that converted the ancient Abyssinian ascetics to Christianity. Had they been founders or reformers, they would, in all likelihood, have brought them into a greater conformity of dress and living to those of Europe and Asia; whereas it appears, that they made no sensible alteration in any thing but in their faith. In consequence of which they have all of them, like the rest of the clergy, the privilege of carrying a cross in their hands, and blessing the people with it.

Monkish habits various, but mean.

Those of the abbots, or superior orders of convents, have them much larger, better shaped, and without a foot to stand on; and these are usually carried before them by some inferior monk, as a token of their dignity, whenever they go abroad. Those monks who observe celibacy are commonly in greater esteem than those that marry, and are often, especially their abbots, employed by the emperors in public affairs and negociations; and it is very likely that they make some kind of vows of chastity at their first admittance into their convents; but in what manner we are not told. The patriarch Alvarez, indeed, informs us, that having one day asked the question of the Azaga Tikho, who had been a monk, but was then the emperor's secretary, whether they bound themselves to it by any vow? that minister, who was of a gay facetious tem-

The unmarried in greater esteem.

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temper, answered, that their candidates for the monkish habit being prostrate before the abba, said aloud to him, "We bind ourselves to observe the rules of chastity;" and softly whispered, "as you do;" and added, that they made most of their other vows with the same tacit restriction [u].

The monasteries called by Jewish names.

The monasteries in Abyssinia did not swarm in great cities; but, answerable to their name and design, were chiefly to be found among the most mountainous and solitary parts of the country, therefore called debas, which, in the Ethiopic tongue, signifies both a *mountain* and *a monastery*, and, in Hebrew, a *desert*. Whether out of regard to their affinity to the Jews, or because they were first introduced by Jewish monks, they were distinguished either by some of the most remarkable territories in Palestine, such as Debra Libanos, Debra Bezan or Bashan, Debra Tabor, Debra Sinai, Debra Zayte; or by some religious Hebrew word, as Debra Hallelo or Hallelujah, names which we cannot suppose either Tekla Haymanot, the Ethiopian, nor Eustace the Egyptian, would ever have thought of giving to those places, unless we suppose them to have been themselves of Jewish extract, or that they had been long before nominated by some more ancient founders, whether of the Essenian or Therapeutic order.

We are quite at a loss how to reconcile the pompous account of those accient communities with the mean and poor condition in which they now appear. Such dreadful devastations have been made by the frequent invasions of the Agaus, Gallas, and other barbarous nations, added to their own intestine wars, that one can hardly guess at what they have been, by the scattered ruins that are left. The chief of those that still make any tolerable figure, are those that follow [x].

Debra Libanos.

Debra Libanos, in the kingdom of Xaoa, is still famous for containing the bones of Tekla Haymanot, of whose order that monastery is; on which account the Abyssinian monarchs bestowed on it great abundance of lands. It was also the residence of the ikegue, or *general*; and the structure of it much exceeds the general description we have given of the rest. It had a church like the others, built on the top of a hill, and round about it were the thatched houses, in which the monks lived; so that it looked more like a country town than a religious community; but its chief grandeur consisted more in the great

[u] Vide Le Grand, Dissertat. xv. de Hierarch. Ludolph, Lobo, &c. ubi supra.

[x] Tellez,

multitude

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multitude of its religious men than in the beauty or richness of its buildings. There are now only some few Christians, who still live among the rocky mountains, called Ambas, and in the monastery not quite forty monks; and yet this place was formerly so considerable, that it contained, including the churches and little dependent monasteries about, ten thousand persons, according to the unanimous reports of the Abyssinians[r]. Since the invasion of the Gallas, the ikegue, or general of the order, hath removed his seat into the kingdom of Bagamendra, whither the greatest part of his monks followed him, where it hath continued ever since.

Debra Bisan.

Debra Bisan, or Basan, was likewise built among very high mountains, about a day's journey from Mazowa. It belongs to the order of St. Eustace, and was once very famous, but hath been since much reduced; yet it is still famed for being the burying-place of one of their abbas, named Philip, whom they still honour as a saint, and celebrate his festival in the month of July.

Debra Hallelujah.

But none of their monasteries has suffered such a surprising decay as that called Hallelo, or Hallelujah, belonging to the same order with that of Debra Bisan. It is seated in the kingdom of Tigre, about a day's journey from the ancient metropolis Auxuma, on a very high mountain, and in the heart of a spacious wood. Its noble ruins shew it to have been one of the most considerable in the whole empire. The river Mareb runs along on the north-east of it, and waters the vallies below, a little before it loses itself in the ground. The church was ninety-nine feet in length, and seventy-eight in breadth, and round about it stood the round cells of the monks, very thick. The missionaries often enquired of some of the oldest monks belonging to it, what number of them it might formerly contain, and were answered by some of them, twelve thousand, and by others forty thousand. The first number is therefore supposed to have included only those that belonged to, and lived near the church; and the other to have comprehended those that were scattered at a greater distance, and composed little depending communities, which they confidently affirm to have amounted to ninety, having each a suffragan church or chapel. Here resided the chief abbot of the order, who was so considerable a person, that when he went to court

[r] Tellez, lib. i. cap. 17. Ludolph, lib. i. cap. 3. Le Grand, Dissert. xv. p. 356.

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upon any urgent business, he was always attended by a hundred and fifty of his monks riding upon mules. In the midst of these ruins there is still standing a little church, and in its neighbourhood about ten or twelve monks only, as it were to keep up the memory of that once so famed community, and its no less celebrated founder, a reputed saint, named Samuel[x]; of whose extraordinary penances and austerities they relate such wonders as exceed all belief. Thus much of the hierarchy of the Abyssinian church.

SECT. VIII.

Of the Faith and Practice of the Abyssinian Church, with respect to the other Parts of their Religion, and the Errors into which it has fallen since its Conversion to Christianity.

THE Abyssinians are justly charged with professing a religion mixed with Judaism and Christianity, the Law and the Gospel; and yet we cannot fairly charge that church with Judaism, or paying an equal regard to the law of Moses and the gospel of Christ.

Their circumcision not in virtue of the Mosaic law.

With regard to the two great articles alleged against them; namely, circumcision, and keeping holy the sabbath, or seventh day, they do not look upon either as necessary to salvation by virtue of the Mosaic law, as the Jews do, but as ordained by God, the one from the creation, and the other to Abraham, the father of the faithful; and, consequently, not to be put on the same foot with those other precepts and ceremonies which were to be abrogated at the coming of the Messiah: neither do they look upon circumcision as a sacrament of the same indispensable obligation as baptism, because, though they in general practise it, yet they only enjoin the latter as such, and leave the other as a matter of choice: for which reason, any old woman may circumcise the children, whereas none are allowed to baptize but the priests only; and what is still more remarkable, if a child be first circumcised, he must be afterwards baptized before he can be admitted a member of the Christian church; but, if baptized before circumcision, he is not suffered, much less required, to be circumcised. This regulation was passed into a canon of

[x] Tellez, ibid. ad fin.

the

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the whole church, about the close of the twelfth century, at a time when some of their patriarchs had ventured to enjoin it as a matter of obligation and necessity [a]. If, therefore, they pay any religious regard to that rite, it can only be on account of its divine origin, and their having received it, together with the knowlege and worship of the true God, from the great king of Israel, now no longer as an obligatory seal of the old covenant, but as a voluntary and grateful memorial of it, and of their having been formerly admitted into that engagement.

But this regard to that ancient rite is so far from being universally paid to it, that many of them look upon it as a political institution, either to preserve a distinction between them and those nations who either do not, or practise it in a different manner; such as the Ishmaelites and Edomites; or, secondly, in order to promote propagation, to which they think it contributes on several accounts; or, thirdly, to preserve those parts from contracting any filth, which, they say, if not prevented, in time will create inflammations and ulcers.

A preserver of cleanliness.

The Abyssinians, like many other primitive Christians, whose example is still followed, observe the sabbath-day, by abstaining from all laborious works, though they admit those of necessity; such as lighting their fires, baking their bread, and dressing their victuals, which are reckoned unlawful by all the Jews. They abstain from blood, things strangled, swine's flesh, hares, and rabbits. They use some purifications and washings after certain defilements, and other observations of the like nature, in common with the Jews; and, for these, their religion is represented as a mixture of the Jewish law and gospel; whereas, in fact, they in general allow, that the ceremonial law was absolutely abrogated by Christ; and that no one precept of it is binding, but what had previously received its sanction from God. Thus, the sabbath was ordained from the creation; the abstaining from blood and things strangled was enjoined to Noah and his posterity, and had been accordingly revived and ratified by the whole college of apostles, in their first synod at Jerusalem, and afterwards by several general and national councils. As for their observing the law of Levirate, which obliges a man, if his married brother die without issue male, to marry his widow, and raise up seed to perpetuate his name, it plainly appears to have been in force among the Canaanites, from

Observance of the sabbath.

[a] Alvarez, Tellez, Ludolf. Le Grand's Diss. viii. p. 278.

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the instance of the patriarch Judah and his Canaanitish daughter-in-law Tamar. The same custom, therefore, might be observed by other nations, and might also be rightly preserved by the Abyssinians after their conversion, either on account of its antiquity, or of its being well adapted to keep up the memory of the dead, without looking upon it as obligatory, as being enjoined by the Mosaic law.

As to their aversion to swine's flesh, it is certain the Abyssinians were not the only people out of Palestine that not only abstained from the flesh of, but who professed the utmost abhorrence to that creature, without any regard to the Mosaic prohibition. The Phœnicians never eat any, if we may believe Porphyry; and Herodotus assures us, that the Egyptians had such an aversion to them, that if they chanced but to touch them, they immediately went and plunged themselves over head and ears in the next river. This was likewise the case of the Scenite Arabs, and other nations, among whom that creature was accounted one of the most impure and unwholesome, and its flesh the most apt to create leprosies, and other loathsome diseases. Why might not then the Abyssinians suppose that it was on that account that God had forbid the eating of it to the Israelites, and abhor it for that reason? And may not the same reason incline, nay, oblige them to continue in all the other Jewish institutions relating to cleanliness and ablutions, without any regard to the Mosaic law? Or was it possible, in this, and all other such hot climates, to neglect them, without endangering health and life.

The Portuguese missionaries, therefore, seem to lay their charge too home against the Abyssinian church, when they represent it as paying an equal regard to the law and the gospel; for all the observances above mentioned plainly appear, not only to be enjoined by it, without any regard to the Mosaic law, but, which is still more, to be countenanced and justified by the apostle Paul, in many of his Epistles, more particularly in that to the Colossians, in these words: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day or sabbath," which are a shadow of the things to come, but the body is of Christ. All this misunderstanding might be probably enough owing to the Abyssinian clergy's declining, as we are told by the missionary writers they did, all manner of conference with them, from a consciousness of their own ignorance and inability of holding an

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an argument; otherwise it would have been easy for them to clear themselves from the imputation of judaizing, as they have done since in writing. We are told, they sought only how to exasperate the people against the missionaries, by calling them cofas, that is, *uncircumcised*, a term, it seems, of the greatest reproach among them, and taxing them with eating the flesh of swine, and other unclean creatures [b]: so that, from the odium which the people conceived against them on that account, they too hastily pronounced them to be half Jews, and half Christians.

The faith of the Abyssinian church.

We have already hinted, that the Abyssinian church received the gospel, and their discipline, from that of Alexandria, and hath continued in subjection to that patriarchate ever since. So long as the mother continued orthodox, the daughter followed her example, and persevered in the faith, which the first bishop Frumentius had established among them; but no sooner was the former infected with monotheliism, or monophysism, by the patriarch Dioscorus, and his abbot Eutyches, the two first broachers of that heresy, about the year of Christ 444, than the poison was communicated to the latter by the abunas sent thither from Egypt, and quickly spread itself through the greatest part of the empire; so that both clergy and laity have been strongly tainted with it ever since [c].

This error, which consisted chiefly in allowing in Christ our redeemer but one nature, and one will, was no less warmly opposed by others, especially those of Rome and Constantinople; and at length condemned by a council of no less than six hundred and thirty bishops, convened at Chalcedon, as a damnable heresy. Their decision was afterwards confirmed by pope Leo I. in his letter to Flavianus. This, however, instead of making a due impression upon the Abyssinian clergy, served only to excite their hatred and contempt against both. They called that council an assembly of factious and servile madmen, who scrupled not to betray the truth, in order to please the emperor Marcian; and, in derision, give them the name of Melchites, or Imperialists. The letter of that pontiff they brand with no less odious epithets, and have had his very name and memory in the greatest abhorrence ever since; whilst they still retain the highest veneration for the arch-heretic Dioscorus, whom they reverence as a very great saint. What is still more surprising, they as

[b] See Le Grand, Dissert. viii. p. 285.

[c] Alvarez, Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, Codign, & al. supra citat.

absolutely

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Disclaim the doctrine of Eutyches.

absolutely disclaim Eutyches, and disown his doctrine as erroneous, though the main difference between them be merely about words; they confessing that the nature of Christ consisted, "ex duabus, sed non in duabus naturis;" that is, *composed of two natures, the divine and human*; but which being united, became one single nature; whereas Eutyches affirmed the human to be wholly absorbed in the divine [d]. They seem to insist that this compound nature of the divine and human, by this miraculous union, becomes so entirely one, as to partake of all the frailties as well as perfections of both; so that the divine part should become equally passive and sensible of pain and death as the human, which it could not have done, according to their conceit, if the latter had been wholly absorbed in the former; for they do not think that the atonement of Christ, or the Word incarnate, would have been perfect and sufficient, unless both parts, thus inseparably united, had borne their share in his sufferings and death; and, for this reason, they anathematize both Eutyches, and all that dissent from the doctrine of Dioscorus, whom they extol and reverence above all the saints and martyrs of the church.

Receive the three first councils.

This is the only fundamental error in which they deviate from the catholic faith; in all other cases they join with it, admit of the Nicene, Constantinopolitan, Ephesian, and some other provincial councils; besides which, they have eighty-four other canons in the Arabic language, which had been sent to Jerusalem by the emperor Constantine, about the year 440, and were brought thence to Rome, and translated by Baptista Romanus, a Jesuit, about 1646. This book contains the acts of the synod of the apostles, vulgarly called the Apostolical Constitutions, said to be written by St. Clement, those of the councils of Ancyra, Cæsarea, Nice, Gangra, and Antioch, Laodicea and Sardis, with the acts of three hundred and eighteen fathers, a treatise on the sabbath, with a canon or decree relating to penance: to it is annexed their general liturgy, offices for the communion, holidays, &c. the lives of several saints and martyrs, and hymns in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary [e]. They use not the Apostles Creed, but only the Nicene, which they style the profession of faith; but, like the Greek church, strike the word *filioque* out of the clause which declares the procession of the Holy Ghost,

[d] Alphonf. Mendes, lib. i. cap. 6. Hist. Patriarch. Le Grand, Dissert. x. Ludolf. Comment. Tellez, Codign, & al. [e] Ludolph. lib. iii. cap. 47. sec. 30, & seq.

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as interpolated: but what contains the summary of all their religion, is that which they call Haymanota Abbaw, or *the faith of the fathers*, and esteem it as of the greatest authority next to the sacred books, being compiled from the homilies of St. Athanasius, Basil, John Chrysostom, Cyril, Ephremius, the four great Gregories, Taumaturgus, Nazianzen, Nyssen, and Armenius.

Receive the Old and New Testament.

They receive the same canonical books, both of the Old and New Testament, as we acknowlege; the former of them is translated into Ethiopic from the Greek version called the Septuagint; but by whom, or at what time, is hard to determine, but most probably soon after their conversion by Frumentius. The latter, or New Testament, is likewise translated from the Greek text, but very corruptly, for want of able hands, a defect which they themselves acknowlege. They dispose the order of those of the Old Testament somewhat differently from us, as the reader may see in Mr. Ludolph; neither do they make any difference between the canonical and apocryphal, but receive them both alike; only the Apocalypse, or, as they aukwardly style it, the Vision of John Abukalamse, they look upon as superadded to the canon. In lieu of which, they have the book of Apostolical Constitutions, lately mentioned, but sadly mutilated, and, in many respects, differing from that we have under that name. Nevertheless, they believe it to be of divine authority, and to have been written by St. Clement, whose name they bear.

The clergy are very little versed in the sacred writings, having neither commentators, expositors, concordances, nor any other of those helps which are in use amongst us, if we except a few homilies upon some select parts of the gospel, or upon some few theological points; and as they never preach nor expound them to the laity, we need not wonder at their ignorance and superstition. In these they may be justly said to come near, if not equal, both the Greek and Roman churches, excepting, as was lately hinted, that they do not admit of any carved images of Christ and his saints, much less of the Deity, in their churches and oratories. They administer the communion in both kinds, use leavened instead of unleavened bread, and believe the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, without admitting of any transubstantiation. In other respects, they offer their devotions and prayers to the saints, and have proper offices, fasts, and festivals, in honour of them. They not only commemorate their virtues, miracles, and other holy actions, particularly their great

Pray to the saints relics.

fastings

fastings and penances on those days, but offer up fervent prayers to them, pay a religious regard not only to their bones, and other relics, but even to their pictures, prostrate themselves before, kiss and rub their foreheads with them, adding still devout ejaculations and other attitudes of respect. Their adoration of the Virgin Mary, they carry to such an excess as comes little short of a latreia, either in the solemn honours they pay to her, the extraordinary attributes they give her, the miracles and unlimited power they ascribe, the prayers they address to her, or the bloody zeal and fury they display against those who condemn or dislike them for it, calling them the enemies of Mary, and stirring up the people to overwhelm them with stones [f]. If they do not believe a purgatory in the same sense and extent as the Greek and Roman churches, they nevertheless believe a middle state, in which the departed souls must be purged from their sins, and may be greatly assisted and relieved by the prayers, alms, and penances, of their surviving friends, who seldom fail of performing so charitable, and, as they deem it, meritorious, a duty to them frequently, and with great fervency; and though their priests have no particular office for the dead, yet they are obliged to make mention of them in their common service, to pray to God to absolve them from their sins, and to make them fit for the joys of heaven. They keep likewise a kind of anniversary of their departure, in which they give plentiful alms, according to their ability, to the priests, monks, and poor, to pray for their souls; and the two former will read over them the whole book of Psalms, from beginning to end, without either doxology or other break, except that they frequently pronounce the word Hallelujah. They then recommend those for whom these alms are given to the divine mercy; but always take care to join them with all those who have lived and died in the true orthodox faith; without which, they would think it in vain, if not a sin, to pray for them. Thus, though they are much divided in their notions about the true state of the dead, yet they all agree, that such prayers, penances, and other charitable duties, will turn greatly to their advantage, if they have not rendered themselves unworthy of it by apostacy or impenitence [g].

Highly honour the Virgin.

Pray for the dead; yet hold no purgatory.

Funeral rites.

Other superstitious ceremonies used at funerals, besides the decent washing of the dead, consist in perfuming the

[f] Tellez, lib. vi. cap. 26, & 27. [g] Alvarez, Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, & al.

body

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body with incense, and sprinkling it well with holy water; after which they dress it in a sheet; and if a person of distinction, they cover it with a kind of buff-leather, and clap it on the bier. The bearers then take it up, and hurry it away with surprising swiftness to the place of interment, whether church or cemetery, where it is again incensed and sprinkled with holy water. The body is suffered to lie no longer by the side of the grave than whilst the priest reads the fourteen first verses of the Gospel of St. John; which being finished, they do not gently let it down, but shoot it into the ground; the priests all the while repeating some Psalms till the body is covered with earth. They go thither to bewail their dead many days together; their lamentations begin early in the morning, and continue till the evening; the parents, relations, and friends meeting every day on the mournful occasion, together with a great number of women mourners, hired to accompany the solemnity with their outcries and lamentations, clapping their hands, smiting their breasts and faces, and uttering the most affecting expressions in a very doleful tone, accompanied by the beating of drums. Offerings are made to the church and the clergy, and alms given liberally to the poor, consisting of bread, flesh, and hydromel. This ceremony continues, according to the quality of the person, three, five, seven, twenty, thirty, or even forty days, and is repeated afresh on the anniversary day. *Long mournings and lamentations.*

They express their grief at the news of the death of a friend or relation, and of their lord, or any of his sons, by casting themselves on their faces to the ground, with such violence, that some have beat the breath out of their bodies, others have broke or dislocated some of their bones, or received a considerable injury in some other parts of their bodies [h]. *Strange actions at the news of the dead.*

The funerals of their princes are still more magnificent and solemn, as the reader may judge by that of the emperor Socinios, or as he is vulgarly called, Segued, and Susneo; a short description of which we shall here subjoin. The body was placed on a square bier, or bed, with steps to ascend to it, which had been made by an Egyptian. Being clothed in his royal robes, and covered with a pall of rich taffety of several colours, it was conveyed from Dancanz, where the imperial camp then was, to the great church called Caneta Jesu, in a town in the kingdom of Gojam, preceded by all the imperial stan- *The funeral of an emperor.*

[h] Alvarez, Tellez, Ludolph, Codign, & al.

dards,

dards. On each side marched the large kettle-drums, beating in a solemn manner. These were followed by some few of the finest horses which he used to ride upon, with their richest furniture, attended by the imperial grooms. Next to these came the pages and other servants, carrying the imperial robes, and other ornaments. These were frequently taken from them by turns by proper officers, who shewed them to the people, in order to excite their tears; among whom even the empress herself marched a considerable space, wearing his crown upon her head. She and her daughters, and other princesses of the blood, with their attendant ladies, rode on mules, with their heads shaved. The remainder of the retinue affected to appear in dirty tatters, as the most expressive marks of real grief and mourning.

Burial ceremony. At the church-door the corpse was met by six or seven monks, who sung their Psalms and Hallelujahs till the body was interred. Next morning, the whole cavalcade returned to Gandaz, bringing the empty bier with them; by the side of which rode an officer on a mule, clad in the imperial robes, wearing the imperial crown, an umbrella held over his head, and in all other respects representing the deceased emperor. Before him marched another, with that monarch's helmet and javelin, mounted on his best horse in his richest accoutrements. Upon their approaching Dancaz, they were met by four or five bodies of armed troops, and other persons of rank belonging to the court, who received them with the loudest exclamations of grief, and proceeded with them to the new emperor's pavilion. Here again they renewed their lamentions for the deceased. Some of the first ministers of state, and other noblemen, attended by Diego de Mattos, and father Emanuel de Almeyda, entered the large tent where Faciladas, the new emperor, was, and continued the same mournful lamentations near the space of two hours; which being ended, the whole ceremony was turned into loud acclamations and congratulatory prayers for the new monarch, who was crowned soon after with the usual ceremony.

Veneration for dead saints. But the greatest regard is paid to such of their monks as die, with the greatest reputation of sanctity, either for their piety and zeal, or more especially for their extraordinary penances and mortification. To such as these they pay so superstitious a veneration as comes little short of what the Romish church yield to their canonized saints, excepting only that they neither rear altars nor statues in honour

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honour of them. They visit their sepulchres, recommend themselves to their prayers, make long pilgrimages, give alms and offerings in honour of them, and translate their bones from one place to another, especially to preserve them from being insulted by any of the Gallas, Agaus, or other barbarous nations that surround them, and even institute festivals in memory of such translations. *Translate their bones.*

They extend their veneration for the angelic hierarchies also to invocation, on account of their guardianship and ministry to the living. Those they divide into nine degrees or orders, viz. angels, archangels, lords, κυριοτητες, magistrates, ἀρχαι, thrones, princes, powers, cherubim, and seraphim; to which some add a tenth, viz. of those who, for their apostacy, were driven out of heaven, and became devils and enemies to mankind. But to none of the former do they address any prayers, or pay any other than a great veneration, excepting the angelic, under whose immediate tuition they look upon themselves as more particularly consigned by the Divine Providence [1]. *Pray to angels.*

Though they hold but two sacraments, properly so called, as necessary to salvation, viz. baptism and the holy communion, father Tellez adds three more to the number, namely, ordination, penance, and marriage; but owns that they are very ignorant both of the matter and form of administering them, and that they know nothing of the other two, confirmation and extreme unction. *Hold only two sacraments.*

They hold baptism to be necessary to salvation; that it ought to be administered by a priest, and performed by a threefold immersion, if the infant is capable of bearing it without danger of its life; if not, the threefold aspersion of water over the whole naked body is reckoned sufficient. The first immersion is made only of one third of the body, "in the name of the Father," the second of two thirds of the body, or up to the breast, "in the name of the Son," and the last is of the whole body, over head and ears, "in the name of the Holy Ghost." Thus far they follow the ancient rule; but they have since added some other superstitious ceremonies unknown to the primitive church; as first, the anointing the whole body, especially every joint of it from head to foot, with the holy chrysma, or, as they call it, meyron, which is a costly mixture of sweet oil, balm, and other odoriferous drugs and gums, made and blessed in a solemn manner by the patriarch *Baptism, how conferred.*

[1] See Ludolph's Calendar of their Saints, lib. iii. cap. 6. sect. 96, & seq.

himself,

himself, and by him dispersed among the bishops and clergy, to be used immediately after the third immersion; without which they do not think the baptism perfect or valid. The next thing they do is the administering the holy communion to the child in both kinds, by dipping a bit of the consecrated bread into the wine, and applying it to the child's lips; though some priests content themselves with dipping the tip of their finger into the cup, and putting it into its mouth [k].

Other rites relating to it. They admit of godfathers, but whether under the notion of sponsors, or only to present them at the font and at the communion-table, which is one part of their office, we are not told. Some other superstitious rites they observe, such as lighting of candles, exorcisms, blessing the water, throwing salt, meyron, and holy oil into it, and intermixing prayers suitable to each, reading the gospels, and some others not worth dwelling upon; especially as we find such various accounts of them among our authors, that unless we admit that one part of the Coptic, or even of the Abyssinian church differs from another, we shall hardly know which of them to believe.

Reiterated at the persuasion of the Jesuits. However that be, the fathers missionaries, after they had gained the emperor Segued's favour, and brought him over to their church, found so many faults in the manner and form of the Abyssinian priests' administering that sacrament, that they easily persuaded him to order it to be reiterated. Accordingly great numbers came and were re-baptized by them, to the great scandal of the whole people, both clergy and laity, though the ceremony was performed conditionally, that is, with these words, "If thou art not baptized, I baptize thee, &c." The very calling the validity of their baptism in question so exasperated the nation, that it hastened their total expulsion; and the new emperor Faciladas, or Basilides, made that bold affronting step a matter of heavy complaint and reproach against the then Roman patriarch, Alfonso Mendez, in his decree for their expulsion, accusing them of having re-baptized his subjects, as if they had been heathens and publicans, notwithstanding the small difference there was between their two churches. Which expressions, we may reasonably suppose, with Mr. Ludolph, that monarch would hardly have urged against them, if the Abyssinian church had been guilty of that other error with which they brand it, the reiterating of baptism; a charge founded

[k] Alvarez, Tellez, Lobo, Codign, Ludolph, & al.

merely

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merely on the ceremony of a general washing on the festival of Epiphany, in honour of our Saviour's baptism.

No confirmation joined with baptism.

We have already observed from father Tellez, Mr. Ludolph, and others, that the Abyssinians neither allow of confirmation nor extreme unction; yet such is the partiality of some of the Romish, especially the French, writers, that, in order to find out their seven sacraments among them, they have, with much subtilty, endeavoured to blind the world with the notion, that the unction which they use in their baptism, namely, that of the chrysma or meyron, is in lieu, or rather is that very sacrament; the fallacy of which notion, must appear to all unbiassed persons, on the following considerations: 1. The church of Rome uses the same unction by their chrysma in their baptism of infants, without looking upon it as any part of confirmation. 2. It enjoins the latter to be administered to adult persons, who are able to give an account of their faith, and to take these baptismal engagements upon themselves; whereas the Abyssinians bestow the unction on infants, who are incapable of either. 3. The form and prayers used in the unction, plainly shew it to be the same, and performed with the same view as that which the Roman priests use it, and is by both churches enjoined as a constituent part of baptism. To all these considerations if we add, that neither the Abyssinian rituals nor catechisms mention any thing of confirmation, much less have any set form for performing it, we shall easily perceive how vain it is to seek for any such thing as the Romish confirmation in Abyssinia.

Penance no sacrament.

We have already mentioned their manner of confessing and receiving penance and absolution from their priests, or the abuna; but though they allow the necessity of both, yet it doth not appear, that they have ever given that rite the title of a sacrament, or look upon it any otherwise than as a preparatory qualification for that of the holy communion. Neither are they over hasty, in obliging young people to come to either, seeing they look upon all the sins they commit before they are arrived at twenty years of age little more or less than slips of youth, for which they will not be called to an account[1]. And herein, again, it is plain, that they do not follow the canons of the Coptic church, which obliges them to come to confession and communion, at, or soon after, the age of ten, from which time they begin to observe the fasts of the

Confession begin very late.

[1] Tellez, Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 6. sect. 57.

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church[m], but are much more remiss in their discipline; which is no wonder, considering the ignorance and corruption of manners, which we have observed to reign through the whole empire, from the abuna down to the very lowest of the clergy. It is therefore impertinent in our late French Jesuits, to be ever objecting the canons and rituals of the Coptic church, and to infer from thence, that the faith and practice of that of Abyssinia must be, in every age, conformable to it, when almost every thing we read of them in the Portuguese fathers, who were most of them eye-witnesses of what they wrote, and cannot be suspected of want of zeal for their church, convinces us of the contrary.

The Abyssinian church is not conformable to the Coptic.

Consecration of the holy chrysm.

We have already taken notice of their belief concerning the other sacrament, that of the Lord's supper, and of their manner of celebrating and administering it to the people. The Jesuits have furnished us with several clauses of that office out of the Coptic liturgy, which plainly intimate not only a real presence, but a real change of the sacred elements into the body and blood of Christ; from which they would infer, that they believe their doctrine of transubstantiation in fact, though not in terminis (A). The

[m] Renaudot, Perpetuit. Fid. Bernat, ubi supra Poncet, p. 85.

(A) According to the Coptic ritual, the priest in office hath no sooner pronounced aloud the words of consecration, "This bread is my body, which is broken for you," &c. than the whole congregation expressed their assent with three loud Amens, and add, in the same high tone, "We believe it, we are sure of it, and praise thee for it, and verily believe that this is thy body."—In like manner, to the words of consecration of the wine, "This cup is my blood," &c. they unanimously answer, "Amen, it is verily thy blood, and we believe it to be so." The priest goes on, "Do this in remembrance of me," and they answer, "Lord, we shew forth thy death, we believe thy resurrection and ascension, and expect thy second coming." After he hath finished the prayer of consecration and breaking of the bread, the subdeacon and people answer, "The hosts of angels stand up before the Saviour of the world, and round about the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; let us draw near with faith before the face of our Lord, and worship him."

In giving the bread to the communicants, which he doth after he hath received it himself, he says, "This is the bread of life which came down from heaven, and is verily the the body of Emmanuel, our God, Amen." To which the receiver

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The main difference between the Abyssinians and Romanists, with regard to the celebration of those holy mysteries, chiefly consists in this, that, among the former, none but priests and deacons are admitted into the choir or chancel, and consequently do not see how the service is performed, but hear and understand every prayer and thanksgiving that is sung or chaunted in it, and answer to each in their turn: whereas, among the latter, the laity sees every thing that is done at the altar, but neither hear what is said, nor for the most part, rightly understand what is meant by any part of that office. Both may have been designed to excite a deeper regard in the laity for that solemn rite; but it will require no depth of thought to judge which of the two is most likely to do so in the most rational way. All that we shall add, with respect to the holy communion, is, that it never is to be celebrated any where but at church; not even the emperor himself having the privilege to have the consecrated elements brought to him upon any emergency or pretence, much less to have them consecrated at home, or any where but in the choir or chancel of the church; neither have they any stated times for the administration of it to the clergy or people; they being left at liberty to receive it oftener or seldomer, as best suits with their devotion, provided the office be performed once a day, in every church by a priest, assisted by a subpresbyter, deacon, subdeacon, and one or two inferior attendants or servants [*].

The holy communion not given out of the church.

The Coptic church hath had, from time immemorial, a rite for anointing the sick, with a particular oil, different from the Meyron and Galilæum, formerly mentioned, but

Ceremony of anointing the sick.

[*] Le Grand, ubi supra, Diss. xii. p. 326, & seq.

receiver says Amen. "This is the cup of salvation (or of life) which came down from heaven, and is the precious blood of Christ, Amen." To which the receiver answers, Amen, Amen. The same they do at the end of the public prayer, thanksgiving, and blessing, which conclude the holy action. From this short sketch of the Coptic communion-office, compared with that of the Roman mass, our reader will easily perceive to which of the two the preference ought to be given, either with regard to public edification, or nearest approach to the practice of the primitive church. The reader may see the remainder of that holy office in the Coptic ritual, and in the authors quoted below (1).

(1) Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 5 & 6 pass. Le Grand, Diss. xii. de Eucharist. p. 326, & seq.

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blessed with great solemnity by the priest; which rite is observed also in Abyssinia, in conformity to the precept in the Gospel; pursuant to which, they interpret the term sick, as including all the diseases of the body, mind, and soul, comprehending madmen and demoniacs. It is, however, administered, as in the church of Rome, at the last extremity, and when the patient is passed all hopes of recovery; upon which account it is called extreme unction, nor is it conveyed to them in their houses, when they lie in the last agonies in their beds, but only in their churches; to which they must either repair or be carried. They have added sundry superstitious ceremonies to that ancient rite: such as having seven priests to assist at it, lighting a lamp with seven wicks, whose oil being blessed by holy water, signs of the cross, prayers, incense, and processioning, is made fit for anointing the person, who is to walk or be carried from the church doors, where the ceremony begins, to the altar, where it is concluded with the unction and blessing. From all which circumstances, it plainly appears to be a quite different rite from the Romish extreme unction; and much more so, when we are told by the Portuguese missionaries, that they never saw any thing like this last performed in Abyssinia.

Performed only at church.

The great ignorance of the clergy and people.

It may well be wondered, that so vast an empire as that of Abyssinia, in which Christianity had been planted so many centuries, if not from the earliest times of the apostles, and which swarms with such numbers of monks and priests, should have been so negligent of the instruction of youth, as to have neither universities nor even public schools to breed them up, if not in other kinds of learning, at least in the fundamentals of religion.

They learn their religion at church or at home.

Though their clergy are numerous and indigent enough to undertake so laudable a province, were their proper places and salaries appointed for them, especially as their priestly function takes up so little of their time; yet we do not find, from our Portuguese and other writers, that any of them are ever employed in that useful work any where but at church: all that their children learn of their religion must be from them there, or from their parents at home. In the former, from those short portions of Scripture that are read, and a few homilies and expositions that follow the lectures, and perhaps from their catechists, who, in all probability, have some set seasons for instructing the young people in the fundamentals of their religion. This universal ignorance, whether encouraged by the emperors upon any particular views, which we cannot find out,

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out, or by their abunas, and Alexandrian patriarchs, in order to confirm them the more in their subjection to that see, is so much the more deplorable, as we are assured that the Abyssinian youth are, for the generality, endowed with great vivacity of parts, and a quick understanding. On this account it was, that the Portuguese missionaries made it one of their first and chief cares to supply that defect, by setting up as many schools and seminaries as they could, wherever they were settled. Such an one was that we read of, in which were educated sixty boys, partly Abyssinians, and partly Portuguese; the latter designed to intice the former. These boys having been taught, among other things, to act some dramatic pieces after the European manner, their parents, and other natives, were admitted to see them. In one of which, we are told, they chanced, as the plot required it, to introduce some demons upon the stage; at sight of which, the Abyssinians, who took them for real spirits, were so affrighted, that they all ran out with the utmost speed, crying out, "Away, away, they have brought devils hither with them [p]."

Schools set up by the missionaries.

Plays acted in them.

The substance of the Abyssinian catechism, according to abbot Gregory abovementioned, runs thus:

Substance of the Abyssinian catechism.

Q. What God do you believe in?

A. In the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

Q. Of these three persons, which is the first, and which is the last; which is the greatest, and which is the least?

A. None is first, nor none is last, none greater, nor none less, but they are in all respects equal.

Q. How many persons are there?

A. Three.

Q. How many Gods?

A. One.

Q. How many Deities?

A. One.

Q. How many kingdoms?

A. One.

Q. How many Powers?

A. One.

Q. How many Creators?

A. One.

Q. How many wills?

A. One.

[p] Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 11. sect. 38.

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Q. Is there any time in God?

A. None; for he is from all eternity, and will be to all eternity.

Q. Where is God?

A. Every where, and in every thing.

Q. Is the Father God?

A. He is most certainly.

Q. Is the son God?

A. He is.

Q. Is the Holy Ghost God?

A. He is.

Q. Then there are three Gods?

A. I do not say there are three Gods, but three persons, and one God only.

Q. Who begat the Son?

A. God the Father; and the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father, and receiveth of the Son.

Q. Shew me some kind of similitude to illustrate the three persons in one Godhead?

A. The sun, although he be identically one, is nevertheless endowed with three properties, namely, rotundity, light, and heat: in like manner, we believe in one God, and that in him exist three persons, namely, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who are in all respects equal.

Q. Which of those three persons was born for our redemption?

A. The second, who is the Son of God, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Q. How many nativities belong to him?

A. Two; the first is from his Father, without mother, and without time: and the second from our Lady the Virgin Mary, without father, and in time, she continuing in her virginity.

Q. Is our Lord Jesus Christ man or God?

A. He is both God and man in one person, without distinction or change, without confusion or mixture.

General belief. In the like manner, the Abyssinians believe and teach all the other articles of faith concerning him, namely, his baptism, fasting, temptation, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension into heaven, and his mission of the Holy Ghost on the apostles: that he shall come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead: that he is really present at the sacrament of the eucharist: that the dead shall rise again at the last day: that the just shall inherit the kingdom of heaven: and that sinners shall be sent into hell. They likewise believe a catholic church, as expressed in the

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the Nicene creed, compiled by the orthodox council of Nice, anno 318.

Since the patriarch Alphonso Mendez left Abyssinia, we have received very little intelligence from that country. And it is no small matter of regret, that Mr. Wansleb, who was sent thither by the elector of Saxony, and had learned the Ethiopic tongue under Mr. Ludolph, met with such unsurmountable obstacles and dangers in his attempt to penetrate into that empire, in order to bring from thence all the liturgies, and other writings that money could procure; as he was a very good judge of them, and was supplied by that prince with sufficient sums for the purpose: so that finding it impossible to get admittance into Abyssinia, he contented himself with buying as many as he could get in Egypt, and other parts. Some discontents, which happened to him afterwards, or, as he expresses it, the perusing of these liturgies, made such an impression upon his mind, that, being quite dissatisfied with his own religion, he renounced Lutheranism, and took the Dominican habit at Rome. From that time, he became a zealous proselyte to that church (B), to the great mortification of the duke his benefactor; and an end was put, on that side, to all future endeavours of getting either books or any other intelligence from those parts. As for the missionaries, they have been forced to draw all their accounts concerning what happened in Abyssinia, since their expulsion, from Cairo in Egypt, and from such hands as can give the reader but little satisfaction: what is much worse, the contests are risen to

Wansleb sent thither by the elector of Saxony.

(B) Michael Wansleb was a native of Ertffurt, vulgarly called Erfort, a city in the electorate of Mentz; but, since it embraced the Ausburg confession, under the protection of the dukes of Saxony. He had been brought up under Mr. Ludolph, and was master of the Oriental languages; and, as such, recommended to that prince as a proper person for that commission (1). Soon after his ill success, and turning monk at Rome, he was again recommended to the great Mr. Colbert, who sent him into the Levant upon the same errand; where he accordingly purchased above five hundred MSS, which were afterwards conveyed to Paris, and placed in the king's library; but finding all his fresh attempts to get entrance into Abyssinia frustrated, he returned into France, anno 1676, and died there some years after.

(1) Vide Ludolph. Comm. Proem. i. p. 20. & in lib. iii. cap. 14. sect. 135.

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such a height, and so much been written by both parties, and with such confidence and animosity, as leaves one scarcely room to guess on which side the truth or the slander lies.

SECT. IX.

The Chronology, Succession, and Series, of the Abyssinian Monarchs; and their History from the Time of the Portuguese coming thither, to that of their Expulsion from thence.

Abyssinian chronology very lame.

WE have had frequent occasion to observe how imperfect, maimed, and uncertain, all the records and histories of Abyssinia are. Even those imperfect memorials which the Portuguese missionaries have been able to procure, contain such contradictions as we are not able to reconcile. They are taken from two manuscripts, which, besides that they vary with each other in many particulars, reckon only one hundred emperors from Menilehech, the son of Solomon and Makkeda, queen of Sheba, down to their great friend and patron, sultan Jassok-Adyan-Sagged, or Segued; but without mentioning either the times in which they flourished, or the length of their reigns. One of them reckons twenty-four monarchs before Christ, and from thence to the time of Faciladas, or Basilides, the son and successor of Segued, about the year 1659, only sixty-eight; yet makes the sum total ninety-nine; whereas twenty-four and sixty-eight make in all but ninety-two; unless we suppose the other seven to have been of the Zaguean family, who usurped the Abyssinian throne during the space of three hundred and forty years, and are, for that reason, struck out of the list of the true descendants of the Solomonic race. This last conjecture will appear the less improbable, if we consider that those lists take no notice even of the women of the Solomonic line, as were the queen of Sheba, queen Candace, and the empress Helena; an omission supposed to be designed in conformity to the Jewish custom, which, as St. Jerom observes, excluded the females out of their genealogies. If we adopt this opinion, those seven Zaguean reigns, reckoning each at sixty years, will come pretty near the three hundred and forty years of their usurpation.

Usurpation destroyed.

From those two imperfect records, one of which was taken from that kept in the great church at Axuma, and the

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the other from a book in the possession of the emperor Segued, by father Emanuel d'Almeyda, the only material transactions belonging to the ancient as well as modern history, which can be reduced into a chronological order, are these that follow (B).

The queen of Sheba made a journey into Judea in or about the year before Christ 992, and of the world 3012. *Queen of Sheba.*

She reigned twenty-five years after her return, and was succeeded by her son Menilehech, 3037

Menilehech reigned twenty-nine years, and was contemporary with his father, and eighteen years more with his son Rhehoboam, and died. *Menilehech.*

From Sadgur, the son of Menilehech, proceeded, in a lineal descent, twenty-four princes; the length of whose reigns is not set down; but in the eighth year of the last, whom the chronicle calls Phecen, was our Saviour born, — — 4004

From this æra of our Saviour's birth to the joint reigns of the two brothers Abra and Abza, comprehending thirteen emperors, whose names are also omitted, elapsed three hundred and twenty-seven years; in the last of which, Frumentius was sent by St. Athanasius into Ethiopia, where he converted the Abyssinians to the Christian faith.

The chronicles give a strange account of three other brothers, who agreed to reign jointly and amicably over the whole empire. Their names are Atzsa, Atzsed, and Amay, who, to prevent all discord, bethought themselves *Atzsa, Atzsed, and Amay.*

(B) Before we go farther, it will not be improper to apprise our readers of two things, with respect to the Abyssinian computation of time; the one, that they begin their year at the autumnal equinox, in which season they believe the world to have been created; the other, that they compute the numbers of years from the creation to the birth of Christ to be five thousand five hundred, which is eight years short of the Septuagint reckoning, which the Greek, Armenian, and some other churches follow. This error is also crept into their computation of the Christian æra; so that whoever will rightly understand it, must be sure to add always those eight years to it. How this defect came to be introduced among them, is variously conjectured, and hardly worth our farther enquiry (1). In other cases, they make use of the old Egyptian year, consisting of twelve months, of thirty days each, with the proper intercalary ones, to reduce it to the true solar.

(1) De hoc, vide Gregor. apud Ludolph. lib. iii. cap. 6. sect. 97. et seq.

of

of an odd expedient; which was to divide the day into three parts, and to hold the reins alternately each his third part, or eight hours. A strange partition of government, which, however, if we can believe the Abyssine legends, succeeded to a miracle; for if, at any time, one of the brothers differed or fell out with another, the third was ready to interpose, and act as umpire between them [q].

Arado, Aladoba, and Alamid.

Those were succeeded by Arado, Aladoba, and Alamid, or, as Tellez calls him, Amiamid, in whose reigns vast numbers of monks and anchorites came out of Egypt, with a view of propagating Christianity, and the monastic life.

Tacena.

Alamid was succeeded by Tacena, and he by Caleb; about which time, new colonies of monks and ascetics came from Rum, and settled in the kingdom of Tigre; that is, about the time of the emperor Justinian, near the year of Christ 521, or 522.

Caleb, who conquers the Homerites.

Caleb, having subdued the Sabean or Homerite kingdom, by the defeat and death of the Jewish king of Dunavas, is said to have sent his crown to Jerusalem, to be suspended in the great church of St. Sepulchre, in memory of his signal success against that bitter enemy and persecutor of the Christians [r].

Gebra Mesket.

He was succeeded by Gebra Mesket, whose name imports *the Servant of the Cross*, a wise and peaceable prince; who, we are told, made an alliance with the emperor Justinian [s].

Constantine.

His two next successors were Constantine and Frezena; and, after them, were fifteen more, all of the same Solomonic line; the last of whom was named Del-Noad, who reigned till about the year 960, when the succession passed into the Zagean family.

Frezena deposed.

Then the usurpation began, which lasted three hundred and forty years, and of which we are now going to give the best account we can find out of those imperfect memoirs we have of it, not so much from any authentic records, as from what the Abyssinians call an undoubted tradition, which is as follows.

The Zagean usurpation begun by Tredda Gabez.

Tredda Gabez, a woman, who, for her impiety, cruelty, lewdness, and other enormous vices, was surnamed Essat, or *Fire-brand*, found means, about this time (960), to destroy not only Del-Noad, the emperor on the throne, but the whole imperial family, in order to raise a son of her's, whom she had by the governor of Bugna, to the Ethiopian throne. None of the unhappy family escaped,

[q] Tellez, lib. iv. cap. 29. Ludolph. lib. ii. cap. 4. sect. 19. & seq. [r] See the Abyssine Poet, apud Ludolph. lib. ii. cap. 4. sect. 39. [s] Procop. Bell Pers. lib. i. cap. 9.

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except one, who fled for shelter into the kingdom of Shewa, or Xaoa, where his posterity was preserved with the utmost privacy by the Xaoan viceroys, who were all faithfully attached to the line of Solomon, during the three hundred and forty years of the Zagean usurpation. The Abyssinians, however, who never acknowleged that new race as their princes, but only as so many usurpers, have obliterated their names; so that we should perhaps have never heard of them, had not two or three of them taken care to eternize themselves by some glorious deeds, particularly the great Lalibela, who left many indelible monuments of his piety and magnificence, by the ten noble churches which he caused to be hewn out of the solid rock, and by other famous actions, for which, in spite of all their aversion to his family, they have not scrupled to number him among their saints. This is, indeed, by far the most illustrious of all; but yet we have the names of two or three more, who still bear a very great character among them, namely, Degna Michael, Newaja Christos, and Naacu Luabo; the last of whom they extol as a peaceable, magnanimous, and beneficent prince, and highly beloved of God [t]. How many, and what kind of princes they were, that filled the throne during the rest of these three hundred and forty years, we are not told; nor by what means the crown returned to the descendants of Solomon; but only that, about the year 1300, the Zagean family being driven from the throne, Icon Amlac, or, as others call him, Igunu Amlac, whose predecessors had been preserved in the kingdom of Xaoa during the whole time of the usurpation, recovered the Abyssinian throne; from which period it hath continued in the Solomonic line to this time. Icon, or Aikun Amlac, whom they reckon the sixty-sixth monarch from Menilehech, reigned fifteen years; and from him to the emperor Zaara Jaacob, who reigned about the year 1437, they reckoned fifteen more; whose names, as they are still found either in their liturgies, or some other of their writings, are as follow, according to the order they stand in the imperial list [u].

Icon Amlac, and his successors.

66. Ighunu, or Icon Amlac. 67. Jagbea Tzejon, or Agbascon. 68. Baharsarda, or Bahar Azgued. 69. Esbraad. 70. Cadem Saghed. 71. Zenzagued. 72. Udimrad. 73. Amdetzion. 74. Scifaarad. 75. Udmaasfan. 76. David. 77. Theadore. 78. Isaac. 79. Andrea.

[t] Ludolph. lib. ii. cap. 5. sect. 13. Tellez, Alvarez, & al. supra citat.

[u] Alf. Mendez,

80. Hef-

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80. Hesbinaan. 81. Amde Jesus, whose successor was the Zar-a-Jacob above mentioned, whom they reckoned their eighty-second emperor.

Zaara Jaacob. 82. Zaara Jaacob began his reign Anno Domini 1437, in which the Florentine council sat, to which, being a prince of learning and great penetration, he sent his ambassadors with a letter to pope Eugenius IV. as we shall see in the sequel. He was succeeded by,

Bæda Mariam. 83. Bœda Mariam, about anno 1465, who died after a ten years reign, and left the government to his widow, the empress Helena. His successor was,

Alexander. 84. Alexander, or Escander, who reigned fifteen years and six months; that is, from 1475 to 1491. In whose reign, Peter Covillan came into the empire of Abyssinia, he being the first Portuguese that ever penetrated so far into it. He was succeeded by his son,

Amda-Izgon. 85. Amda-Izgon, or Amdscon, who died six months after his elevation, without male issue, and left the crown to his uncle,

Naod. 86. Naod, the son of Bœda Mariam, who was called to the crown from his imprisonment on the rock Geshem, to which Alexander had confined him. He reigned thirteen years and nine months, and died about anno 1507. To him succeeded,

Onag-Segued. 87. Etana-Denghel, or Lebna-Denghel; more commonly known by the names of Onag-Segued and David; which last he took upon his accession to the crown. He reigned from anno 1507 to anno 1540; and it was to this prince that the king of Portugal sent that embassy, of which Francisco Alvarez was appointed chaplain, and of which he gave the public so curious a relation.

Claudius. 88. His son, and successor, was Claudius Segued, or Atznaf-Segued; who had but a very unfortunate reign; being harrassed on all sides with grievous wars against the Gallas and Mohammedans, who would quickly have swallowed up his whole empire, had not Providence sent to his assistance the brave Don Christopher de Gama, of whose success we shall speak more fully in the sequel. Segued, however, lost his life in battle against the Gallas in March, anno 1559, after a troublesome reign of eighteen years; and leaving no male issue behind, was succeeded by his brother's son,

Adama-Segued. 89. Menas, surnamed at his coronation Adama Segued, who had reigned little more than four years before he was murdered by his own soldiers, in a fight against Isaac, one of the revolted bahr-nagashes, or governors of the maritime

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time provinces, in April, 1562. He was succeeded by his son,

90. Malak Segued, who reigned some months above thirty-three years; and having no male issue by his queen, had brought up a natural son named Jaacob, whom he designed for his successor; but repenting of it a little before his death, he left the crown to a son of his brother Locanaxos, named, *Malak Segued.*

91. Zedenghel, anno 1595, a circumstance which proved the fatal cause of a most bloody civil war; many of the grandees taking Jaacob's part against him, on account of his too great propensity to the Roman church; though in other respects, a brave and noble prince [w]. Peter, the abuna, was the leader of that rebellion; and having absolved the Abyssinians from their oath of allegiance, they took arms against him, whilst he, with the few forces he had left, and a small number of Portuguese, venturing to give them battle, was defeated and killed, October 15, 1604, after a short and troublesome reign of nine years. Upon his death, his competitor was again invited to the throne; but had not enjoyed it long, before he saw himself strenuously opposed by the great-grandson of Etana Denghel, or Onag Segued, whose name was Susneus, or Socinios, a young prince, no less artful than brave. The contest lasted somewhat above two years, but was at length decided by an obstinate fight, March 10, 1607; in which Jaacob, and the abuna Peter, were killed on the spot. *Zedenghel, conspired against and killed.*

92. Susneus, the ninety-second monarch, having gained the victory, and obtained the crown, made no scruple of betraying the same inclination for the church of Rome, though it had cost his predecessor so dear; and gave such encouragement to the popish missionaries, that great numbers flocked thither during his reign, who would, in all likelihood, have established the pope's authority in that empire, had not a stop been put to their progress by the unexpected death of that monarch, who died in November, anno 1632, and by the accession of his son Faciladas, or Basilides, to the crown, who proved as great an enemy as his father had been a friend and patron, to the Roman Catholics.

Thus far we have brought down the list of the ninety-two Abyssinian monarchs, in the best chronological order we could establish from the few records which the Portuguese

[w] Idem ibid. vide & Lobo, Relat. pass. Le Grand, Dissert. v. p. 250. ix. p. 297, & seq.

writers

writers had been able to procure, down to the time in which they wrote. But our readers will not be dissatisfied, if, to them, we add the names and reigns of those few, which are come to our knowlege by other hands, since the total expulsion of the missionaries and Roman Catholics out of the empire, as they have been since transmitted into Europe, and have been collected by a late French author, and printed at Paris, anno 1728 [x].

93. Basilides took the name of Adyam Segued, and is the prince who issued out that decree against the Roman Catholics; for which he is represented as a favourer of Mohammedism, though an enemy to them. Several letters passed between him and the patriarch Alphonso Mendez, of which we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel. He died about the year 1664, aged sixty-five, and was succeeded by his fourth son,

John. 94. John, who on his accession, took the name of Aclaf Segued, and died, anno 1680.

Jawso. 95. His son Jawso, or Adyan Segued, or Ayasous, succeeded him; and is the prince to whom the physician Poncet was sent, by Mr. Maillet, the French consul at Alexandria. He was afterwards dethroned by his son,

Taklimanoth. 96. Taklimenoth, or Tekla Hamanoth, anno 1706. Taklimanoth was, for his perfidy, massacred by his own troops, anno 1709; and

Tesilis. 97. His brother Tesilis placed upon the throne. His reign was of short duration, like that of his predecessor; his prime minister, named Oustas, the son of a sister of Josow Adyam Segued, having dethroned him in the third year of his reign, and seized upon the crown: the Abyssinians, however, did not suffer him to usurp the imperial dignity longer than till they could raise prince David, another son of that monarch above mentioned, to the throne; an aim which was not accomplished without a dreadful slaughter and massacre of both parties, as we are informed by some letters from Moka, dated June, 1718; from which it is concluded, that he was acknowleged emperor about the beginning of the year 1714 [y].

Destroys the usurper.

The Abyssinian records maimed and imperfect. From this maimed and imperfect account we have given of the Abyssinian chronology and history, which is all that the missionary fathers have been able to collect, our readers will easily perceive what a barren field we are engaged in, and how little is to be found or said upon that

[x] See Le Grand, Dissertat. v. p. 247, & seq. Dissert. v. p. 251, & 473.

[y] Idem ibid.

subject,

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subject, till we come to the arrival of the Portuguese in that empire.

We cannot account for that obscurity which reigns through the history of those latter ages, from any thing but the neglect and natural indolence of the Abyssinians, which had suffered the most signal occurrences of the more remote ages, particularly, that of their first conversion to Christianity, and the history of their church, to be buried in impenetrable darkness and uncertainty. It is therefore high time to come to that remarkable period, which reaches from the first arrival of the Portuguese in those dominions, down to their final expulsion from Abyssinia.

How this empire was at first discovered by Peter Covillan and Michael Payva, in their wild search after the famed Prester John, we have already seen. The next attempt in quest of it was about seven years after, when Vasco de Gama first ventured to sail round the cape and coasts of Africa, and thence to the East Indies. Seven years after that event, Alphonso d'Albuquerque, following the same track, was the first European that sailed through the streights of Babel-mandel, and spread the Portuguese name among the Ethiopians, by confirming all that Covillan, who was still alive, and had been detained there ever since his first arrival, had told them concerning their naval power, new discoveries, and settlements in Africa and India. This occurrence proved so much the more favourable a juncture for them, as the empire of Abyssinia was at that time reduced to the lowest ebb, both by foreign wars and intestine broils. Its king David was a minor under the tuition of the empress Helena his grandmother; who, though in all respects a person of a most excellent character, yet was now altogether incapable of holding the reins of government, under so many, and almost insurmountable difficulties, without some powerful assistance from abroad. In this emergency, she no sooner heard of the prowess, valour, and success of the Portuguese, than she resolved to apply to their king Don Emanuel for succour, and to enter into a treaty, strict alliance, and friendship, with that prince. That she might succeed the better in it, she made choice of an Armenian merchant, named Matthew, a person every way qualified for such a commission, to be sent on an embassy to the court of Portugal. In order to attach that prince the more to her interest, she presented him with a piece of the holy cross, as a token of her Christian profession; and this was soon after deposited in a gold box, which Alphonso d'Albuquerque caused

A.D. 1490.

A.D. 1497.

A.D. 1505.

Alphonso d' Albuquerque sails into the Red Sea.

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caused to be made for that purpose. Matthew was received by him with particular honour, and dispatched to Lisbon; where he likewise met with a most gracious reception from Don Emanuel and his whole court, who began to look on this embassy, and desired alliance, as an earnest of some singular advantage that would accrue both to him and the church of Rome; and was accordingly accepted with eagerness and alacrity.

We have already hinted, that Covillan had been detained by the emperor Alexander ever since his arrival in Abyssinia, according to the usual policy of those princes, not to suffer a stranger to stir again out of their dominions; but though detained a prisoner, yet he was not ill used in other respects; that prince, who is said to have been a second Alexander in generosity, having conceived a great value for him, as a person of valour and experience, who might be very serviceable to him both by his counsel and his courage. Nahod, his successor, treated him in the same manner all the thirteen years of his reign, and willingly heard him speak of the bravery, strength, and extensive commerce of his nation, and gladly consulted him on all occasions. This prince dying, left the government and tuition of his son, Lebna Denghel, since called David, then an infant, to his mother, the empress Magueza, and to the empress Helena his grandmother, who was the widow of Bœda Mariam, a princess justly esteemed by all for her extraordinary wisdom and piety; who, in all likelihood, was advised by her Portuguese prisoner, to take the step she did, of inviting the king of Portugal to her assistance.

Helena's works of charity.

She was immensely rich, and enjoyed vast fertile territories in the kingdom of Gojam; and having neither son nor daughter, bestowed the greatest part of her income in works of charity, and particularly in building stately churches, and endowing them with a munificence truly royal: and as these were built quite in a different manner from those of Abyssinia [z], it is not unlikely that the same Portuguese gentleman was the chief architect. Whilst she was thus employing her time and her wealth in such magnificent works, she saw the empire attacked by the Mohammedans without, and her government sadly disturbed by parties and factions within; so that, not knowing which way to turn herself, we need not wonder at her being so easily prevailed upon, by the politic Covillan, to

Matthew sent ambassador to Portugal.

[z] Almeyda, Tellez, Lobo, &c.

send

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send to Portugal for succour; a measure quite opposite to the common practice of all her predecessors; which, in the end, plainly shewed the remedy to have been worse than the disease. But to return to her ambassador.

He not only met with the utmost compliance from the Portuguese king; but, as such an alliance appeared to be of the utmost consequence both to him and the church of Rome, he made no delay to send the empress a solemn embassy in return. He appointed for this occasion the famous Edward Galvan, a man of excellent capacity and great experience; who, after having served his two predecessors in quality of secretary of state, had been sent ambassador into Germany, France, and Rome, and was every way qualified for such an important commission, had not his extreme old age rendered him unfit for so long and dangerous a journey. He set out, however, with a suitable retinue, and a numerous fleet, commanded by Lopez Alvarez, and laden with magnificent presents for the young Abyssinian emperor, and his excellent protectress and grandmother, the empress Helena. Francis Alvarez, probably a near relation of the commander, a clergyman, justly reflected upon by Almeyda, Tellez, and Mr. Ludolph, for his too great credulity, but, in other respects, a man of candour and piety, was appointed chaplain to this grand embassy, which met with a quick and easy voyage into the Red Sea; but was soon after disconcerted by the unexpected death of the ambassador Galvan, at the island of Cumaran, in the seventy-first year of his age; by which unforeseen accident, a stop of near four years was put to the designs of the Portuguese monarch, and the great expectations of the empress Helena [a].

Galvan sent ambassador by king Emanuel.

Galvan dies at Cumaran.

The matter, however, was thought of too great importance to be set aside; and the arrival of Don Lopez de Seguira, then entering into his government of India, at the island of Mazowa, at that time belonging to the Abyssinian emperors, offered him a fresh enouragement to renew it. He was bringing back the Armenian merchant from Lisbon, and was to land him at that island; where, observing with what joy and eagerness he was received by the bahrnagash, or *governor*, by the monks of Bizan, and other Christians of the country, he resolved, without farther delay, to appoint another person to go on that embassy, to the Abyssinian court. Unfortunately, the person he pitched upon for that commission, was Ro-

[a] Alvarez, & al. supra citat.

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A.D.1520. driguez de Lima, a person of a quite opposite character to his predecessor Galvan, a passionate humoursome young man, quite unfit for such an office. Father Alvarez was ordered to accompany him as his chaplain, and a numerous retinue appointed to attend them: their journey proved long and troublesome, through the heat of the climate, and the badness of the roads; notwithstanding which, they all arrived safe at the Abyssinian court on the 20th of April, where they met with an affectionate and pompous reception. As for Matthew the Armenian, he fell sick at their first setting out, and died in a village belonging to the monks of Bizan.

Rodriguez de Lima sent in his stead.

His arrival at court.

The emperor David, now soltan Segued, received the ambassador with great marks of joy and esteem, and admitted him as soon as possible, though with great ceremony and formality, to his first audience. He caused him and his attendants to be entertained with all possible magnificence during a tedious stay of six whole years; for so long did he detain them before they could obtain their dismission; though Rodriguez, naturally hot and impatient at the affected delays of that monarch, pressed him to it with the utmost importunity, especially after he received the news of the death of the king Emanuel, and of the accession of John III. to the throne [b]. At length, with great difficulty, they obtained their audience of leave, and set out for the Red Sea, charged with a letter to the new king of Portugal; to whom he likewise sent his crown of gold and silver as a present. The letter may be seen at large in the history which Alvarez hath given of this embassy and empire. He likewise made choice of a learned monk, named Zagaza Ab, to go ambassador to the king of Portugal, whom he charged with a letter to pope Clement VII. and earnestly entreated Francis Alvarez to accompany him on his embassy to Rome (C). At the same time, Rodriguez

Their departure and presents.

A.D.1526.

An ambassador sent with them.

[b] Tellez, lib. ii. cap. 5.

(C) These letters, which are full of fulsome flattery, both to the pope and king of Portugal, and acknowlege the former to be the true and only vicar of Christ, and the head of his church on earth, in the plainest and strongest terms, were afterwards translated into Latin by Paul Jovius, and procured Alvarez, who was appointed to carry them to Rome, a most gracious reception from that pontiff and his court. Both these letters were afterwards absolutely disowned by his successor in the next reign, disclaimed and condemned as so many contrivances and forgeries, set on foot by the Portuguese

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driguez was prevailed upon to leave John Bermudez, his physician, behind, together with a painter of his retinue; and this Bermudez is the very person who was made soon after Latin patriarch of Abyssinia, and wrote a short history of that empire, out of which we shall extract most of the transactions which happened during his stay in that country.

In the mean time Rodriguez and his retinue arrived safe at Goa, and sailed from thence in the month of January, of the year following, for Lisbon, where, upon their arrival, on the 25th of July, they were prevented from landing, on account of the plague raging very furiously, so that they were forced to sail up higher as far as Sanbarin, a sea-port, about twelve leagues north of that capital, whence they were conducted by the marquis of Villareal to Coimbra, where the court then was, and where the Abyssinian ambassadors were presented to the king, and met with a most courteous reception (D). A.D. 1527. *Arrival at Lisbon.*

The

guese missionaries, in order to introduce the pope's authority into that empire, and to promote some other political views of that pontiff, and of the king of Portugal. The truth is, there is nothing in the contents, diction, style, manner, &c. of them, that can incline an unbiassed reader to believe them the genuine and real composition of that monarch. Nor, on the other hand, can any one well conceive, if they were forged, and the embassy was only a contrivance of those politic fathers, how the one could be indited, and the other carried on, in a manner so contrary to their usual conduct and foresight. The reader may see both letters at length in Le Grand's relation, together with some other anecdotes relating to this, and some other transactions, from which he may perhaps form a more satisfactory judgment of them.

(D) Fr. Alvarez, burning with a holy zeal to go and throw himself at his holiness's feet, and to kiss his slipper, in the name of his Abyssinian majesty, could hardly brook the delay which he met with at the court of Portugal. On one hand it was thought fit that his colleague, Zagaza Ab, should remain some time there, to be carefully examined about the faith and practice of the Abyssinian church.

On the other, the king of Portugal, who designed to send likewise an embassy to Rome, hesitated a long time before he could fix upon a proper person; but at length nominated his own nephew, Don Martin; but Zagaza Ab, having been frequently caught prevaricating, was not deemed fit to be sent with them, but was still detained in Lisbon, where he wrote an account of the Abyssinian faith; which was afterwards translated into Latin by Amian de

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David gains some victories over the Moors.

The emperor David, soon after his taking upon him the reins of government, having gained several battles against, and recovered some large territories from his Mooriſh neighbours, did not a little alarm their fears, by his detaining the Portugueſe ambaſſador ſo long in his dominions. They had their ſpies at his court, who ſoon appriſed them that he had made a league offenſive and defenſive with the king of Portugal, who had engaged to aſſiſt him to drive all the Mohammedans out of their new conqueſts. The king of Adel, amongſt the reſt, whoſe territories were contiguous to Abyſſinia, and who was himſelf a Mohammedan, and a profeſſed enemy to all Chriſtians, was one of the firſt who took up arms againſt him, and ſent a ſmall body of troops into his frontiers, commanded by the valiant Moor Achmed, ſurnamed Granhe, or *Left-handed*, whom David had lately ſtripped of ſome conſiderable lands; in revenge of which he marched his troops with ſuch ſwiftneſs and fury into his dominions, that he quickly over-ran the kingdom of Fategar, deſtroyed churches, towns, villages, and all that came in his way, and made vaſt numbers of priſoners before any thing could be attempted to oppoſe him; inſomuch that, encouraged by his ſucceſſes, he began to form a deſign of making himſelf maſter of the whole Abyſſinian empire [z]. The emperor, alarmed at theſe devaſtations, made all the ſpeed he could to ſtop his progreſs, and coming againſt him with three thouſand horſe, and a numerous body of foot, eaſily overthrew his ſmall army. Two years after this event he advanced again at the head of a more numerous army, and gave him a ſecond defeat; but all this ſucceſs did not hinder him from going on with his conqueſts and ravages, inſomuch that, from this time,

[z] Bermudez, chap. i. Tellez, ubi ſupra, lib ii. Ludolph. lib. ii. cap. 16. Lobo, Le Grand, & al.

Goez, and publiſhed in the Spania Illuſtrata, among the affairs that related to Portugal; but it hath gained but little credit among the learned.

While he was thus employed at Liſbon, his colleague Alvarez, and Don Martin, ſet out thence on their embaſſy, and arrived at Bolonia in the month of January, 1533, where Charles V. was to be crowned emperor by the Roman pontiff. Here it was that Alvarez appeared in the character of his Abyſſinian majeſty's ambaſſador, paid homage to, and harangued his holineſs on the occaſion, and delivered into his hands the emperor's letter, whether genuine or counterfeit, is uncertain.

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to that monarch's death, which happened twelve years after, he ceased not making new conquests and devastations, till he had reduced the greatest part of the empire to the utmost extremity. What increased the general disaster was, that many of the nobles and grandees went over to the Mooriſh general. The greateſt part of theſe, as well as of the Abyſſinians, whom he had taken priſoners, made no ſcruple to turn Mohammedans; a circumſtance which we need the leſs wonder at, if it be true, that they believe re-baptiſm will waſh away all the ſtain and guilt of their apoſtacy, as ſoon as they think proper to apply to it, and return to their church and faith.

Bermudez ſent ambaſſador to Rome and Portugal.

This was the diſmal ſtate to which the empire was reduced by the irreſiſtible forces of the Adelian king, under his ſucceſsful Mooriſh general, when the unfortunate emperor bethought himſelf of applying afreſh to the Portugueſe for aid. The perſon he made choice of to negociate that important affair, was the Portugueſe phyſician, John Bermudez, whom Don Roderiguez de Lima had left behind. In order to procure him and himſelf the greater credit at the courts of Rome and Liſbon, where he was to appear in the character of his ambaſſador, he cauſed him to be inſtalled abuna of Ethiopia; for as he was known to be a ſtaunch catholic, his promotion could not but give an evident proof of that monarch's affection to that church, and intereſt thoſe two courts in his favour. It was probably the great diſtreſs which the emperor and his dominions were in, that prevailed upon the old abuna, who was then alive, to nominate him his ſucceſſor, and conſecrate him in that dignity, rather than any inclination he can be ſuppoſed to have had towards the church of Rome.

A.D. 1538.

Arrival and ſucceſs at Rome and Liſbon.

However that may be, Bermudez, to make the greater diſpatch, croſſed the Red Sea and went through Paleſtine, as not only the quickeſt, but likewiſe the ſafeſt way to Rome, which he did not however reach till after the death of pope Clement VII. to whom his credentials and the emperor's letter were directed. Nevertheleſs he was received by his ſucceſſor, Paul III. with the honours due to his double character; and we may add, that no embaſſy from that empire met with greater and more ſpeedy ſucceſs than this. The pope immediately ordered his bulls to be diſpatched, by which he created him patriarch, not only of Abyſſinia but likewiſe of Alexandria; and with theſe, and a letter of recommendation to the king of Por-

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tugal, he set sail for Lisbon, where he met with the same kind reception and dispatch.

By this time so many complaints had been made against his colleague Zagaza Ab, at the Abyssinian court, that the new abuna had received orders from the emperor to arrest him and clap him in irons, for his pretended neglect and ill conduct; an order which was accordingly executed by Bermudez; but, at the request of the king of Portugal, his double irons were taken off some days after. He was, however, continued in his imprisonment, stripped of the dignity of ambassador, and forced to resign himself up wholly to the abuna, in order to be brought back by him into Abyssinia, and give there an account of his ill success, or, as they were pleased to style it, his ill conduct during his long stay at that court. This strange transaction Bermudez himself hath not scrupled to give us at full length, in the very beginning of his history; though a judicious and impartial reader will discover much more of Romish policy in it, than either of neglect or guilt in his unhappy prisoner.

However that be, John III. glad of such an opportunity of sending so many of his subjects into Abyssinia, ordered him to be furnished with four hundred and fifty musqueteers from India, and charged the viceroy of Goa to receive him with the honour due to his character, and to dispatch the forces above mentioned into Abyssinia as soon as possible.

A.D. 1539. Bermudez sailed the next year for Goa, and met with the wished-for readiness in the governor, Don Garcia de Noronha, to give all possible dispatch to the king's orders; but he unfortunately died before he could fully complete them. He was succeeded by Don Stephen de Gama, who quickly finished what was still wanting, and conveyed the whole succour, together with the patriarch Bermudez, into Abyssinia, with all convenient speed. And great need there was of such dispatch, for during Bermudez's absence the emperor's affairs had still continued to decline; insomuch, that he had been reduced by the Mooriſh general to seek for shelter among some of the inaccessible mountains; from which he had again been forced to retire to the top of that of Damo, where, with some few of his bravest men, he endeavoured to defend himself. But in this invincible fortress he was forced to yield his crown and life to that more infallible conqueror death, in the forty-second year of his age and thirty-third of his reign;

Sails for Goa.

The emperor's distracted state.

A.D. 1540.

Miserable death and distracted condition.

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reign; the first twenty of which had been as happy and prosperous as the thirteen last proved unfortunate [b]. This was the sad catastrophe of the emperor David, or, as he is styled in his supposed letters above mentioned, soltan Segued, in the flower of his age, but quite exhausted by cares and the most affecting distresses, abandoned and even hated by most of his subjects, surrounded by a victorious and implacable enemy, confined on a barren rock, with a handful of men, his empire above half conquered, depopulated, and laid waste, and in possession of Mohammedans, the most inveterate enemies of Christianity; one of his sons, named Menas, an unhappy prisoner amongst them, besides many thousands of his subjects, who, to lighten the weight of their chains, had shamefully apostatized from their religion, and undergone the scandalous and indelible stigma of circumcision; all which dreadful disasters he could not but be deeply sensible were chiefly owing to his unhappy and indiscreet propensity to, and zeal for the church of Rome, and the pope's supremacy, which had alienated the hearts of his best subjects from him, and rendered the whole Abyssinian clergy his irreconcileable enemies. No wonder then if such a load of complicated misfortunes crushed him thus immaturely into his grave, before he could receive the comfortable news of the succours that were hastening to him from Goa [c].

Succeeded by his son Claudios, or Claudius.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Claudios, or Claudius, then in the eighteenth year of his age, under the regency of his mother Cabelo Oanguel (E). This prince, who took then the surname of Asnaf Segued, was a man of singular wisdom and excellent qualities, even by the confession of the Jesuit missionaries, who were not otherwise greatly attached to him, as we shall soon see. His

[b] Idem ibid. [c] Idem ibid.

(E) Soltan Segued left four sons, the eldest of whom, named Victor, died before him. Claudius was next in succession, and mounted the throne accordingly. The third was called Menas, and had been taken prisoner by Granhe, the Mooriſh general; but by some means, which we are not told, had regained his liberty, and afterwards succeeded his brother. After him came the fourth son, named Tascarus, as we shall see in the sequel (9).

(9) Tellez, lib. ii. cap. 27. Ludolph, lib. ii. cap. 6. Not. 17, & seq.

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person was graceful, tall, and majestic; his disposition truly generous; in learning he greatly exceeded not only most of his predecessors, but even his whole clergy. He was perfectly acquainted with the antiquities and constitutions of the Abyssinian church: in his disputations he often puzzled those learned fathers, and with great zeal and warmth repelled the calumnies of that church, particularly with relation to circumcision, re-baptism, confession, holy communion, &c. In a word, he was a wise and excellent prince, and every way worthy not only of the empire, but likewise of a longer and more prosperous reign than he enjoyed.

Takes a different course from his father.

Upon his accession to the throne, as he could not but have observed how fatal his father's propensity to the church of Rome, and ill-timed regard for the missionaries had been to him, he wisely resolved to regain the alienated hearts of his subjects by a quite opposite conduct. Though he was continually engaged in wars with the king of Adel, and other neighbours, and chiefly depended upon the succours from Portugal, without which he might plainly see that it was impossible for him to save his empire from being totally over-run; yet did not this consideration deter him from publicly declaring his utter dislike to the church of Rome; disowning his father's letters to the pope and king of Portugal, his confession of faith, and submission to the pope; and condemning the whole as a forgery and politic contrivance of the missionaries, in order to bring the Abyssinian church and empire under a foreign yoke. Though he did not deprive those fathers, and their converts, of the free exercise of their religion, yet he took such care to discountenance and discourage their zeal for making new converts amongst his subjects, that many of the old proselytes made no scruple to return to their mother church[f].

Raises an army.

As he was no less valiant than prudent, his next care was to levy a sufficient number of troops to oppose those of the king of Adel and other invading Moors, and signalized the beginning of his reign by the total overthrow he gave to the Moor Amirozman. He was, however, soon after, so overpowered by him, that he was forced to escape into the kingdom of Xaoa, with about seventy or eighty of his men, and to spend the whole winter there in expectation of the Portuguese succours, which came accordingly just time enough to save the empire from be-

Various success.

[f] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, & al. ubi sup.

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ing wholly swallowed up by the Mohammedans. Don Stephen de Gama, then governor of the Indies, having entered the Red Sea with a considerable fleet, through the streights of Babel-Mandel, had, by this time, done a signal services to the emperor, by the ravages he committed along the Arabian coast, and entirely dispersed those infidels, when he came to anchor at the island of Mazowa, from which he sent a reinforcement of four hundred men to the assistance of the Abyssinian emperor, under the command of his own brother, the brave Don Christopher de Gama. These immediately took their route through those sandy deserts, having at their head the new patriarch Bermudez, who had been appointed chief of this expedition, and out of regard to the governor, Stephen de Gama, had given the command of the four hundred forces to his brother Christopher. The reader may easily judge what difficulties they must have met with in such mountainous passes and defiles, through which they were forced to march with their equipage and artillery. As they proceeded farther into the country they were met by shoals of people, who welcomed them as their deliverers; upon which Bermudez deputed some of them to give notice of their coming to the empress Cabelo Oanguel, who made all the dispatch she could to come and meet them. This princess had been forced, for some time, to take refuge on the top of Mount Damo, which is of such difficult access, that there is no other way to the summit but by being hoisted up in baskets. Nevertheless she now came down to meet them at the town of Dewaroa. The Portuguese went about a league out of it to meet her majesty in battle array, with trumpets sounding and colours flying, and attended with the artillery. At their head was the patriarch Bermudez, whose blessing she first asked; she afterwards complimented Don Christopher, and the rest of the captains, and was conducted by them to the town above mentioned [g].

Don Christopher de Gama's arrival.

Towards the end of the year they left Dewaroa, and marched with that princess to join the king her son, who was then in a distant part of the empire, posted on another mountain as inaccessible as that of Damo. In their way they were met by a messenger, who was sent by Granhe the Moor, to enquire who they were, and what their business was in those parts? Don Christopher answered, that they were Portuguese, and that they were

Answer to Granhe's messenger.

[g] Bermudez, ubi supra. Tellez, Ludolph, Lobo, & al. ibid.

sent

sent by their king to restore the emperor Claudius to his dominions, which the king of Adel had unjustly seized upon. He sent the messenger back, with a present of a few trinkets for his master, but with a much more considerable one to himself (F). Granhe did not fail to resent the affront and answer; and though he was then advantageously posted on an eminence, yet was easily brought down to attack them, as he had with him a thousand horse and five thousand foot, besides fifty Turkish musqueteers, and the same number of archers. The empress, at sight of the enemy, was in the utmost consternation, though the Portuguese had taken care to place her and her women in the center, well surrounded with the baggage. The Moorish general appeared, mounted on a stately horse, with his standard by his side; but was quickly dismounted by a shot from a Portuguese gentleman, which killed his horse, and wounded him in the thigh, upon which he was carried off. Don Christopher was likewise wounded in the leg; notwithstanding which accident Bermudez ordered the empress's tent to be reared up in token of victory; a circumstance which so disheartened the Moors, that they immediately retired, with their general, to his old post. Soon after came a renegado, and first cousin to the bahrnagash, to compliment the Portuguese on their happy escape, occasioned by the wound given to Granhe, who, but for that, would have cut them all to pieces.

Defeats him.

Lent was no sooner over than Don Christopher, who was cured of his wound, received a fresh message from Granhe, with a promise that he would soon pay him a second visit. He accordingly kept his word, and advanced with a more numerous force, both of horse and foot, which threw the empress and her ladies into a fresh consternation. Don Christopher was ordering his troops to the best advantage to receive him by the very next morning, when the terrified empress gave Bermudez such

(F) The former of these presents consisted only of a small looking-glass, a silver egg wrought in the Peguan fashion, and a pair of hair pincers, which was rather designed as an affront than a compliment; whilst those he gave to the messenger were two gold bracelets, some rich furniture trimmed with gold, a piece of Bengal gause, and a Turkish cassock and vest; all which the empress had, by the patriarch's advice, furnished him with for that purpose (2).

(2) Bermud. Hist. cap. 2.

a dread-

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a dreadful account of the enemy, as quite disheartened him from staying to see the issue; so that she found no difficulty to persuade him to accompany her in her flight. They were, however, recalled by Don Christopher, not without some severe reproaches. This officer desired Bermudez to bestow his blessing upon him and his little army, together with a general absolution, as is the Portuguese custom on such occasions, which the patriarch not only granted, but superadded a plenary indulgence to them, pursuant to the commission he had received from the pope. Next morning, by break of day, both armies engaged; but that of the Moors was so terribly annoyed by the Portuguese artillery, small arms, and hand-grenades, though chiefly by the quantity of gunpowder with which they had strewed the ground, and set on fire as fast as the enemy advanced, that the Turkish infantry began to retire with precipitation, whilst the cavalry, which was posted at some distance, seeing the havock, stood motionless, not daring to move one step forward to assist them. The whole Mooriſh army soon betook themselves to flight, leaving in their camp abundance of provision and rich plunder. Presently after the action great numbers of Abyssinians, who had gone over to the Moors, came back, some on horseback, others on foot, and joined the Portuguese, to the great joy of the desponding empress, who ordered them to be re-baptized, probably on account of their apostacy.

Gives him another defeat.

The desertion of the Mooriſh army obliged Granhe to apply to the Turkish bashaw, who resided in the neighbourhood, for fresh assistance, without which, he told him, it would be impossible for him to preserve that rich province to the soltan his master, in whose name he had made himself master of it, and to whom he sent, in token of his fidelity, a hundred thousand ougues, or *ounces* of gold, twenty thousand of which were designed for the bashaw. Don Christopher being apprized of this negociation, was obliged to secure himself and his army on the top of a high rock, and to cut a way up to it by the assistance of his Abyssinian troops, which was nevertheless so steep, that they were forced to carry their cannon upon their shoulders. Not thinking himself secure enough there, he resolved to remove to a much higher rock, inhabited by Jews, but in the possession of the Moors, and guarded by a captain and a garrison of a hundred and fifty horse. He soon reached the summit by the help of his Abyssinian guides, and attacked the captain with such impe-

Granhe applies to the Turks for succour.

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impetuosity and bravery, that he killed sixty of his men, took thirty of their horses, and, by the assistance of the Jewish inhabitants, easily put the rest to flight, pursued, and killed several of the fugitives, and amongst them the captain. He acquired considerable plunder, and a good number of their wives; particularly that of the commander, a woman of such beauty, that Don Christopher became enamoured of her, and reserved her for himself, and grew so jealous of her, that he cashiered two brave captains, for no other fault than looking, as he thought, upon her with too amorous an eye [b].

Meanwhile Granhe appeared at the head of six hundred Turks, which the bashaw had sent him, and advanced towards the place where the empress and the rest of the Portuguese were posted. In this emergency they sent for Don Christopher, and, upon his return, proposed to him to surprise and attack the enemy in the night on both sides, as the surest way to defeat them; but the proud Portuguese scornfully rejected the proposal as cowardly and dishonourable, and resolved to fight them in the broad day. Accordingly, as soon as it was light, he prepared to attack them; but one of his horses breaking loose, and running towards the Mooriſh camp, a skirmish immediately began between the two armies, which unhappily brought on the battle before they could put themselves in order. The fight was obstinately sustained on both sides; a considerable number of Moors and Turks were slain, and on the Portuguese side, several brave cavaliers, particularly Don Sebastian his standard-bearer, who maintained his post till he was quite spent with weariness and wounds, and then was slain by the surrounding Moors. Don Christopher likewise received a grievous wound in his arm, yet continued fighting, till abandoned by most of his men, he was forced to retire, with the few that stood with him, to a neighbouring eminence. The patriarch advised the empress to go thither; but she, unwilling to leave the rest of her women behind, absolutely refused to go till he forced her to retire.

Among those that stayed behind for want of horses, was the empress's nurse, a virtuous and brave woman, with two of her daughters, and some other women of her retinue, who, to avoid falling into the hands of the merciless Moors, set fire to a small barrel of powder, which she found in the tent, and put an end to all their lives and

[b] Idem, ibid.

fears,

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fears[1]. Her example was followed by about fifty or sixty soldiers, who, disabled by their wounds from providing for their safety, had recourse to the same desperate expedient, and killed themselves on the spot. The empress, who had reached a place of safety, was glad to see the patriarch make towards her with her young daughter, whom she supposed to have been left behind and blown up with her nurse; and she was no less anxious about Don Christopher, whom she supposed to be either slain or taken prisoner. He appeared at length with his arm in a sling, and full of pain, but less sensible of his wound than of his rashness and shameful defeat; the loss of so many brave men, and especially of his standard, drove him into a kind of despair, which nothing could assuage. It was with great difficulty that the patriarch prevailed upon him to mount, and accompany him and the empress, with the dismal residue of their forces, to some place of safety. *Don Christopher in great despair.* In their flight they were obliged to ford two deep rivers; and when they came to a third, over which was a drawbridge, he refused to go farther, protesting that he would shoot himself if they offered to use compulsion. The patriarch was obliged to comply, though with great regret. Having at his earnest request heard his confession, and given him some balm to dress his wounds, he took a sorrowful leave of him and the few attendants that staid with him; these were his valet de chambre, his secretary, and three inferior Portuguese. The empress being told of Don Christopher's strange resolution, could hardly be prevailed upon to go farther, till they heard the noise of some Mooriſh troops at a distance, which obliged her to make all the haste she could over the bridge, and to draw it up as soon as the rest were got over, in order to get out of the reach of the enemy, from whose hands they now began to fear it was impossible for Don Christopher to escape.

Bermudez and the empress continued their flight through mountains, deserts, and dangerous passes, for some days, and at length crossed a large river, where they began to think themselves out of all danger, and where the governor of the country supplied them with plenty of provisions, which were the more welcome to them, as they had been forced to feed upon tamarinds, and other fruits, a great part of the way. Here the patriarch reviewed his remaining forces, amounting now scarcely to three hundred; and as he despaired of ever seeing Don Christopher any *The patriarch and empress get safe away.*

[1] Bermud. ubi supra

more,

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more, he nominated Don Alphonso de Caldeyra, a prudent and warlike commander, to succeed him. Soon after arrived John Gonzales and Denis Alvarez, whom they had left with Don Christopher, who gave the following account of him to the empress:

Don Christopher taken in a cave.

A woman, pursued by some Moors, having entered the cavern where he lay concealed, they had followed her thither, and, as soon as they spied him, asked who he was. He made himself known with such readiness, that they could scarcely believe him, till an eunuch, who knew him perfectly well, assured them that he was indeed Don Christopher de Gama; upon which they gladly conveyed him to Granhe, who was no less overjoyed to have him in his power; and, after several previous questions, assured him, that if he would turn Mohammedan, and abandon the Abyssinian emperor, he would load him with honours and favours. He answered, with a smile, that being a servant of Jesus Christ, he scorned to change his religion for that of an impostor; a declaration which so exasperated the other, that he ordered him to be buffeted, and the hair of his beard to be pulled off. His anger subsiding, he tried once more to persuade him, by liberal promises, to order his Portuguese troops to leave Abyssinia, and retire. He agreed to write a letter for this purpose, and observing the eunuch, lately mentioned, to be set at his elbow in order to watch every stroke of his pen, he found himself obliged to write what Granhe dictated. However, to prevent any misapprehension of his true meaning, he took care to cross his name with two strokes, like two thorns, to intimate to his men to be very cautious what they did. This letter, which was forthwith dispatched to them by two Moors, greatly alarmed the empress; who taking it in the literal sense, could not forbear breaking out into bitter complaints against the writer, in whom she had placed her whole confidence; so that she was not less delighted at his artifice, when the meaning of the cross thorns was explained to her. The new general, Alfonso de Caldeyra, having undertaken to answer the letter in the name of the rest, with the same precaution sent him word, that he might congratulate himself on the favour of Granhe, but that, as for the rest of the Portuguese, they neither wanted nor sought it; being all resolved to complete, like true Christians, the work for which the king their master had sent them thither, which was to destroy Granhe, and deliver the empire from his tyranny.

Insulted by Grahne.

His constancy and policy.

This

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This answer was no sooner delivered into Don Christopher's hands, than he carried it to Granhe; who, not suspecting the artifice, made him no reproaches about it, but only asked him how he came to be so soon healed of his wounds: to which question he replied, that it was by means of an extraordinary composition which he had about him, which never failed of making a speedy cure. Here Granhe desired him to make the same use of it on his captain-general: Lobo [k] adds, that he was his uncle, who had been grievously wounded in a late encounter; instead of using the proper balsam, he dressed his wound with such corrosives as killed him in less than three days; and, being taxed with it, answered, that he came to destroy, not to cure the enemies of Christ. This bold answer so exasperated the Mooriſh general, that he caused him to be severely cudgelled, and even threatened him with immediate death: Don Christopher calmly answered, "You can only kill my body, but my soul is Christ's, who will receive it into eternal life." Upon which, he ordered him to be immediately conveyed to the place where the other wounded Portuguese had been massacred, and there to be beheaded [l]. Tellez and Lobo say, that Granhe fell into such a rage at his answer, that he struck off his head with his own hand. However that be, Bermudez confirms the legend of the miraculous fountain, and of the great cures it performed; and adds several other particulars relating to this martyr, which we shall not trouble our readers with; except that his head was sent to the bashaw of Kairo, one of his quarters to the province of Judah, another to that of Adel, and one of his legs to Zebid, the Turkish bashaw, who had sent him the reinforcement we lately mentioned; all which circumstances plainly shew how much Granhe valued himself upon the advantage he had gained over a few Portuguese troops. Tellez adds, that the bashaw Zebid, and his Turks, severely threatened him for having presumed to put him to death, instead of having sent him to Constantinople, as they designed to have done, which was the reason of his sending his head to Kairo, in order to be thence conveyed to the Porte. Four hundred of the six hundred Turks whom Zebid had sent him were ordered back, and only two hundred staid with him, to secure the tribute he had engaged to pay to the Grand Signor. These last particulars were

Outwits the Mooriſh general.

His intrepid behaviour.

[k] Relation de l'Abyssin. ap. Le Grand, p. 93. [l] Lobo & al. ubi supra.

brought

brought to the new Portuguese general by one of their men, who had been taken by the Turks, and afterwards made his escape. As for the remains of Don Christopher's body, they were left by the patriarch on the spot where he had been executed; whence some Abyssine monks afterwards conveyed them to their convent, where they were preserved with great veneration, as the relics of a saint and martyr, on account of the supernatural fragrancy they still retained, and the many miracles that were wrought by them [m].

The empress reinforced.

The little discomfitted Portuguese army were soon after, to their inexpressible joy, joined by a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty horse, and one thousand foot, with Asmache de Douro and Asmache de Guidini at their head. These subjects of the young emperor Claudius, were presently introduced to the empress, to whom they gave the same account of Don Christopher's death, which she had received before; adding, that they had fled from Granhe's camp immediately after his late victory, whilst he, flushed with his success, was advanciug, by large marches, towards the lake Dembea, with a full design to attack the young emperor, who was then encamped with his army in that neighbourhood. The empress thus reinforced, marched towards the frontiers of the Jewish mountain, where their chief met them with a fresh supply of provisions and refreshments, and invited the empress to retire into that mountainous territory, where she would be in all imaginable safety; there being but one entrance into it, which could be easily defended against the enemy, if he should attempt to force it. They accepted his offer; and, as soon as they entered the mountain, he begged that he might be admitted to baptism, a request which was readily complied with by the patriarch, and Don Caldeyra stood his godfather.

The young emperor joins them.

Whilst they continued in this mountain, the young emperor arrived at the foot of it, attended by a few of his men in mean apparel. The Portuguese went down to receive him, with whom he condoled for the loss of their general; but bid them not be too much discouraged, or think themselves in a strange country, but to look upon it now as their own, where they would be speedily furnished with cloaths, tents, mules, servants, and all other necessaries. They assured his majesty, that, since they had lost their old commander, they would now

[m] Bermud. & al. ubi supra.

accept

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accept of no other but him: they then accompanied him to the tent of the patriarch. Here, again, he was not a little pleased to see the patriarch come to the door to receive him, looking upon it as a piece of great condescension, because the abuna is as much respected there as a pope is at Rome, and alighted from his horse to receive his blessing. From thence he passed into his mother's tent, and, after a little stay, was conducted to his own, which had been reared in the centre of their camp. He staid there about two months, during which he assembled five hundred horse, and eight thousand foot, a body deemed sufficient by the Portuguese, when joined by their's, to attack the Moors; which they begged his majesty to do, and revenge the death of their late noble general. The young prince appeared somewhat diffident of his strength; but being told, that Granhe had but two hundred of the six hundred Turks, which their bashaw had sent him, he readily consented [n].

Contest between him and the patriarch.

The young emperor, however, had been obliged to put up with a great deal of insolence from Bermudez and them, before they would consent to fight for him, or even stay longer in his dominions. This circumstance Tellez seems to have carefully avoided mentioning in his history, as reflecting some dishonour on the patriarch and Portuguese chief; though Bermudez hath made no scruple to give the world a full account of it, and in such terms as shew that he valued himself not a little for it, as it discovered how resolutely they were bent to take advantage of his present situation, to oblige him to establish the pope's authority in his dominions (Z). Soon after matters had been accommodated

[n] Bermud. Tellez, Lobo, &c. ubi supra.

(Z) The good patriarch, as himself informs us, having prepared his Portuguese troops, in a set speech, to assist him in rooting all schism and heresy out of the country, by reducing both king and clergy to the pope's obedience, went and addressed himself to the young monarch in the same pathetic style, calling him his dearest son, (he was, it seems, his godfather), and telling him, that, if he designed to shew himself a worthy successor of his late father, of pious memory, he must resolve to follow his steps, and send a proper ambassador to Rome, to assure the sovereign bishop of all bishops of his sincere and dutiful obedience to him; and, to assure him that his father had done so before him, he shewed him his letter to that pontiff, in which he made a full acknowlegement

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dated between the young emperor and the patriarch, and every thing was preparing to attack the enemy, the new Portuguese

of his plenary authority over the church of Christ.

This speech was made to him in the presence of his mother, who was then in his tent; but Claudius plainly told him, he would neither own him for his father nor his patriarch; and that he was the abuna of the Franks, and an Arian, who believed in four Gods. Bermudez as bluntly told him, that he lied, in saying that he worshipped four Gods; but, added he, "Since you refuse to obey the holy father, I shall only look upon you as an excommunicated and accursed person, and will concern myself no more about you." So saying, he rose, and went away, without receiving any other answer from the young prince than this: "You are the excommunicated person, and not I."

The next step the patriarch took, after having acquainted his Portuguese with what had passed, was to forbid them all, under pain of death and excommunication, to assist the young monarch, or, in any case, to regard his commands. They answered, that, as neither they nor their ancestors had ever been disloyal to the pope or their prince, so neither would they now to him. One of the emperor's officers being sent to distribute three thousand ounces of gold among them, and to make their general some valuable present, they all unanimously excused themselves, and sent him word, that the breach he had made with their patriarch would not permit them to accept of any thing from him, or to do him any further service.

This answer obliged the young monarch immediately to hold a council, in which it was resolved that the empress should go to the patriarch, accompanied with an archbishop of his ordaining, to beg pardon of him for her son, and to promise, in his name, that he would do every thing he should enjoin him, with respect to the pope. She came accordingly, and, in the humblest terms, delivered her message to the patriarch, who, instead of being softened by her tears and intreaties, insolently told her, that he had now nothing left to do but to retire with his troops into Portugal with all possible speed. This rough speech brought the afflicted princess upon her knees, and made her renew her intreaties to him with such vehemence and such floods of tears, that, being at length overcome by them, he accompanied her to her son's tent. At their arrival, the young monarch came out to receive him, and, in the humblest manner, took hold of his hand, and kissed it, and begged pardon for what had passed.

Here they all three sat down, and the young prince began the discourse with assuring him of his readiness to obey the prince of bishops; but asked the patriarch, whether the homage paid to him by his father might

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Portuguese general, Don Alfonso, being dead by a fall from his horse, Arias Diz, a gentleman who had been in Ethiopia ever since the year 1520, and had been intrusted by the former monarchs with some considerable commissions, was nominated in his room, at the desire of the young prince, who had put a great confidence in him: but Claudius had still another view in this nomination. Being dissatisfied with the patriarch's tyrannic behaviour, he had formed a design to deliver himself from his power; to which end, he desired him to permit the new general, and his Portuguese soldiers, to go with him on a secret expedition; that would turn to the glory of God. Bermudez, though he suspected his design, nevertheless consented, relying on Diz's fidelity. Accordingly, as soon as he had got the rest of his army ready, and had reached the mountain where Granhè and his forces were posted, he sent an express to Diz, to join him with all speed, and to bring the young emperor with him. Upon their arrival, they left the empress in a place of safety, and marched through craggy passes and narrow defiles, where, in their way, they met with a Mooriſh commander, at the head of three hundred horse and two thousand foot, in the province of Ogara, whom they attacked by break of day. Fifty Portuguese horse, who led the van, slew the commander with most of his men, and took many prisoners, who informed

might not be sufficient, without his being obliged to send a fresh embassy to him? "No (answered the prelate), you must send one in your name, which is no more than what every prince in Europe is obliged to do as soon as he comes to the crown; and since you have not done it hitherto, you must now perform it to me, who am commissioned by his holiness to receive it from you. Besides which (continued he), you must give me an ample testimony in writing, signed with your own hand, and sealed with your own seal, and in the name of all your kingdoms and provinces, in which you shall make public acknowlegement that God hath no more than one church, and one vicar of Jesus Christ, in all the world, from whom all the power and rights of all Christian princes and prelates immediately flow." He insisted farther, that this public act should be read with an audible voice, on some eminent place, and in the hearing of all the people, by one of the chief officers of the realm. To all which articles the young emperor was glad to submit; and the act, concludes the author, was accordingly read with the utmost pomp and solemnity, and with the sound of the trumpet (1).

(1) Bermud. Relat. cap. 3.

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them, that Granhe was at a place not far off, named Daraska, in the kingdom of Dembea, near the place where the Nile crosses the lake of that name, and where his wife and children, who had been from him a long while, were come to join him soon after Don Christopher's defeat.

The young emperor's strange behaviour.

This success was soon followed by the death of the Abyssine general, who, having ventured too far on a skirmish, was surrounded by another party of the Moors, and slain. The news of his death so afflicted the young emperor, that he shed a flood of tears, tore his hair, cast his crown to the ground, and exhibited the most excessive tokens of grief and despair. This affliction was soon followed by intelligence that Granhe was in full march against him; which threw him into such a panic, that he resolved to save himself by flight: but the patriarch came out of the monastery, where he had retired to pray with the rest of the monks, whilst his troops were preparing to encounter the Mooriſh army, and, with difficulty, prevailed upon the pusillanimous prince to stay, and encourage his forces by his presence against the approaching enemy [o].

Granhe advances against him.

Mean while, Granhe was advancing at the head of thirteen thousand horse and foot, and his two hundred Turkish musqueteers. Several bloody skirmishes happened; in one of which an Abyssine general having been treacherously drawn into a pretended parley with the enemy, was murdered by them; a circumstance which so discouraged the rest of the Abyssine forces, that the emperor, to prevent a desertion, consented they should engage next morning by break of day. Accordingly, the Portuguese leading the van with two hundred Ethiopian horse, and three hundred and fifty foot, set forward with great eagerness, whilst the emperor, who brought up the rear with two hundred and fifty horse more, and four thousand five hundred foot, stood with them posted on an eminence, to see them begin the onset. Granhe made no less haste to meet his enemy, and advanced in two lines; one of which he led himself, which consisted of the two hundred Turks above mentioned, six hundred Mooriſh horse, and seven thousand foot: the other consisted of six hundred horse, and six thousand foot, and was commanded by another general. The onset, according to Tellez, and other Portuguese writers, was very fierce and furious for some time on both sides, except on that of the Abyssinians, who were easily thrown into disorder by the Turks, and, with

[o] Id. Ibid.

some

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some difficulty, were rallied by the Portuguese. In the height of the engagement, Granhe appearing on his white horse, with his Turks on each side, to support his own men, and venturing too near the enemy, a Portuguese, named Peter Lion, a man of low stature, but an excellent marksman, seeing him within gun-shot, let fly at him with such dexterity, that he quickly brought him to the ground. The two Turks fell dead on each side of him by some other shot, before they could carry his body off; which circumstance being observed by the rest of his troops, they immediately turned their backs, without striking another stroke. The other Turkish general did indeed maintain the fight some time longer with great bravery, and, whilst the emperor's forces were in pursuit of the flying Moors, made a stout defence against the Portuguese, till all the two hundred Turkish musqueteers were slain, except fourteen, who fled to Granhe's wife, and acquainted her with their defeat, and her husband's death: upon the news of which, she immediately rode away with two hundred and fifty horse, that were left to guard her, and all the treasure that Granhe had been hoarding up during the war. All this time the Portuguese were busy in slaying all that fell in their way, and plundering the camp, in which they found, besides a considerable spoil, a prodigious quantity of provisions, and a great number of Abyssinian captives, whom they released, to their no small joy; some meeting with their parents, others with their children, wives, relations, and friends; so that they could not but express the liveliest gratitude to their brave deliverers; and the young emperor failed not to give them the warmest marks of his esteem for their signal bravery, and for so effectual a victory, which paved the way to the recovery of a great part of his dominions: among other tokens of his thankfulness to God, he ordered a noble monastery to be built on the field of battle, in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ [p].

The emperor's gratitude to the Portuguese.

The king and his army descending from the high grounds of Oynadaga, came and encamped on the banks of the Dembean lake, where they remained two whole months; in which time, forty Portuguese, who had formerly fled from the slaughter, when Don Christopher was defeated, and had taken the way to Mazwa, with a design to embark for Portugal, hearing of Granhe's overthrow and death, returned back, and, taking the empress with them, came

[h] Bermud. ubi sup. Tellez, ex Almeyda, Lobo, & al.

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and joined the imperial camp. The head of Granhe, which was conveyed and shewed through all the other parts of the empire, together with the news of his total overthrow, occasioned such universal rejoicing among all the people, that the Moors, who were posted in garrisons in several kingdoms and provinces, hearing of this grand defeat, thought fit to abandon all these strongholds, and those countries were glad to return to their obedience: even those who had been most forward in going over to them, and had changed their religion, in order to obtain better terms, were, upon their re-submission, all pardoned, and received into favour. Great rejoicings were likewise made at the arrival of the empress, whose son went to meet her about a league from his camp, yet without acquainting the patriarch with it, which shewed that he still retained his former resentment; so that the princess was not a little surprised at his not being of the company, and no less displeased when he acquainted her with the reason of it.

The Portuguese fall out with the emperor.

This was not the only instance in which the young prince mortified both him and the Portuguese that were with him. Among those governors of provinces that had been pardoned for going over to the Mohammedans, there was one, who, by his defection, had occasioned Don Christopher's defeat; against him, therefore, they made strong remonstrances to the emperor, but in vain; his majesty telling them, that as he had given his word to pardon him, he could not in honour retract. This refusal so exasperated the vindictive Portuguese, that they at once rushed into the traitor's tent, and stabbed him to death with their daggers [q].

The patriarch irritates them by his proud demands.

Such an insolent outrage could not fail of giving the young monarch to understand what tyrannic laws he was likely to fall under, if he did not take some proper means to suppress them. On the other hand, the haughty patriarch was daily soliciting him, in the strongest terms, to perform the engagements he had extorted from him, to make a public abjuration of the Abyssinian heresy, and submit to the pope and the church of Rome. He proceeded so far as to threaten him with excommunication, and declared he would withdraw his Portuguese forces. Claudius had, about this time, received a haughty message from the exasperated king of Adel, on account of his ill treatment of the late vanquished Granhe, and causing his

[q] Id. ibid.

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head to be carried through all his dominions. He threatened him, that he should soon find a second and more formidable Granhe in him, and be once more stripped by him of all his newly-recovered dominions. The young emperor therefore saw himself obliged to manage his prelate and his Portuguese, till, by their assistance, he should get the better of his powerful foe; he therefore begged time till then to perform his promises. He intreated the patriarch to stay behind with the empress his mother, whilst he and his forces marched with the Portuguese against the enemy[r]. After a long and tedious march, they came to a broad river, on the other side of which the Adelian monarch and his forces were encamped. The horse forded it with ease, and the foot were ferried over on rafters covered with hides. This passage was effected in the night, without being perceived by the enemy; so that they came suddenly upon them, and plied their firearms so successfully, before they could put themselves in order of battle, that they made a great slaughter. Several Christians were likewise killed and wounded; and, among the latter, the young emperor, but not dangerously. At length the king of Adel was slain; at the sight of which accident, his dastardly Moors betook themselves to a speedy flight, but were pursued with great slaughter. A great number were taken prisoners, and, amongst them, the Adalian queen. The young emperor failed not to express his thankfulness to the Portuguese for this fresh victory; and, as a token of his gratitude, presented them with all the rich plunder of the enemy's camp, to be equally divided amongst them, reserving only to himself the horse and scymitar of the slain king, and the person of the queen, whom he afterwards bestowed on Arias Diz, their general, together with the kingdoms of Doar and Belwa, in order to raise him to an equal degree with her, as well as to prevail upon her to become a Christian and his wife.

The king of Adel marches against them.

This was indeed a master-piece of policy in that young monarch, and such as was likely to have disconcerted all the patriarch's measures, and rendered all his haughty threatenings vain and abortive, could any princely policy be an equal match with that of a selfish prelate, intrusted with such a plenary power, both from the pope and king of Portugal over a set of slaves and bigots to their authority. The overthrow of the Mooriſh army had no sooner

[r] Bermud. ubi supra, & al. supra citat.

Bermudez renews his instances to the emperor.

restored peace and tranquility to the empire, and the prince, with his victorious army reached the kingdom of Dembea, than the flushed patriarch renewed his former instances with more boldness than ever; by which he became daily more irksome and odious both to him and his court. Arias Diz, the Portuguese general, gained by the emperor's late liberality, and raised to the royal dignity, had privately renounced the church of Rome, and been baptized into that of the country, and taken the name of Mark. The consequence of which step was, that the young emperor, thinking himself sure of his interest, began to treat the patriarch with greater coldness and contempt, whenever he came into his presence. He now no more rose from his seat to receive his blessing, nor suffered him to sit any longer before him, or to remind him of his old promises. This strange behaviour aroused all the pride and resentment of Bermudez, insomuch, that he scrupled not to tell Claudius one day, that he was not only shamefully unngrateful to the king of Portugal, by whose favours and victorious arms he was restored to his lost empire, but, which was still worse, a rebel to Jesus Christ, in violating that respect which was due to him as his representative; adding, that he would be accursed, rejected, and excommunicated, if ever he relapsed into the errors of the Alexandrian church, which God had suffered to fall under the tyranny of the Turks for its defection from the apostolic see of Rome. This speech, which rather exasperated than frightened the young monarch, was answered by recriminations against the Romish church; after which the emperor bluntly told him, that if it was not out of consideration of his being his godfather, he would not scruple to have him drawn and quartered.

Treats him with severity and scorn.

The emperor resents it.

Not long after this altercation, Bermudez received express prohibition to send any farther orders to the Portuguese forces, who were now under the command of Marco, the Abyssinian captain-general. He answered, that they, being subjects of the king of Portugal, were now no longer under any obligation to obey one who had proved a traitor to his king and religion; and that since his majesty still persisted in his refusal of submitting to the pope, contrary to his former promise, he was resolved to withdraw his forces and himself out of his empire. He was, however, given to understand, that the emperor was absolute master in his dominions, and expected them to pay obedience to his general, and to none else. The result

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sult of this declaration was, that all the Portuguese resolving to die sword in hand, in opposition to such ungrateful tyranny, began to fortify their camp without delay[1]. *The Portuguese fortify themselves against him.*

The emperor, who interpreted this last step as bidding him open defiance, ordered them to be attacked with all speed; but this order was executed so unsuccessfully, that his cuirassiers in the van were either burnt to death, or forced to fly half burnt, by the fire which the Portuguese set to a quantity of gunpowder scattered about in an ambush, into which they had drawn them by a feigned flight. This miscarriage threw the king into a new fit of despair; upon which the apostate Arias, now Marco, told him, that since the Portuguese could not be vanquished by open force, he ought to affect their destruction by treachery. Pursuant to which advice, they were sent for by Claudius, who appeared extremely sorry for his too frequent breach of promise, and desirous again to make all possible satisfaction both to the patriarch and to them; but, in fact, meaning the very reverse; for Marco the traitor, whose counsel the young monarch followed in every thing, soon put him in a way to elude all their demands, by a double perfidy, first, by forbidding all his subjects to furnish them with any kind of sustenance, and the other, by stopping their mouths with a timely donative of a considerable quantity of gold and fresh provisions, and a very valuable present to the patriarch, whilst the most proper means were taking for dispersing and confining their chiefs in several distant provinces of the empire, beyond the possibility of their ever reuniting again. *Repel the emperor's forces.* *Marco betrays them by his counsel.*

The Portuguese, however, were soon apprised of this treachery, as well as of the emperor's having obtained a new abuna from the patriarch of Alexandria. Bermudez was forced to come again to expostulate with him; but instead of fair promises, as formerly, he had the mortification to hear it all owned and excused by the emperor's own mouth. He said, he chose to separate the Portuguese, to prevent their raising new troubles during his absence, he being just on the point of marching against the Gallas: "And as to you, father," added he, "you must be content to stay in the territory of the Gaffates, where you will have nothing to do but to pray for me, till my return. There you will be respected, and have that canton allotted to you for your maintenance. I found it sufficient for myself and *A new abuna sent for.*

[1] Bermud. ibid. cap. 4.

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my few troops, during my late stay in it, and doubt not but it will be so for you and your's." Marco coming in just then to desire the emperor to send to Alexandria for the new patriarch, was answered, "God bless my dear Marco! My dear friend, the thing is already done [t]."

Bermudez was accordingly obliged to depart with his retinue, and some field-pieces, for the mountainous territory above mentioned, under a strong guard, where he arrived after a difficult march of eight days. About seven months after, hearing that the monarch was returned from his unsuccessful war against the Gallas, he resolved to come into his presence. In order to prevent the captain's opposing him, he caused him, on some pretence, to be tied hands and feet, and severely cudgelled, and some of his field-pieces to be fired at random among his men, two of whom were killed by the shot. The rest were thrown into such consternation, that they were glad to let him go unmolested, and even to intreat him to take his departure. He the more readily embraced this opportunity, as he understood the traitor Mark was dead, and had been buried with the utmost pomp by the emperor. Bermudez, in his way to court, met with one of his Portuguese taking possession of some lands which that monarch had assigned him, who told him, that Claudius had divided his Portuguese troops into two squadrons, giving the command of one of them to Lopez de Almanza, and that of the other to Gaspar de Souza, with a design that they should be always near his person; but that the Portuguese had rejected the first, as being a stranger, and one of the late Marco's partisans; so that the whole command of them was given to the latter. These tidings were the more welcome to the patriarch, as Souza was his nephew, and much attached to him.

Marco's death and pompous funeral.

He was accordingly joyfully received by those of his nation, and, in outward appearance, by the emperor, who sent him his compliments on his safe arrival, with a present of five hundred ounces of gold; but was obliged to keep him at a distance, on account of his expecting the new abuna from Alexandria. During his stay in the camp, he was given to understand, by an officer of distinction, under the most solemn promises of secrecy, that the emperor so highly resented his behaviour to him, especially his obliging him to acknowlege the Romish pontiff, that

The emperor's ingratitude to Bermudez.

[t] Idem, ubi supra, Tellez, ubi supra. Lobo, ibid. Le Grand, p. 93.

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he ran the greatest risk, if he did not quickly and privately withdraw himself: but as he still insisted on seeing and speaking to his majesty, the emperor ordered two of his officers to seize and convey him to one of their amhas, or *craggy high rocks*, already described, to prevent his ever getting out of his dominions. He was, however, soon rescued out of their hands by his brave nephew; who, when blamed for it by the emperor, made no scruple to tell him, that he had done nothing unworthy of his character, in rescuing their patriarch out of the hands of a tyrant, who knew only to return evil for good; and that he must not expect that he, or his Portuguese, should ever suffer a prelate of their's, who had done him such signal services, to be cowardly given up to his resentment. Claudius, finding them so resolute in his defence, vouchsafed to invite him again to his presence, loaded him with fulsome caresses, and appointed him an income of twenty thousand crowns per annum, as patriarch to them; whilst Joseph, now arrived in his dominions, was declared abuna of the Abyssines. To prevent their making any resistance to this establishment, he bethought himself of sending them into some distant province, on the frontiers of the Gallas, and of the kingdom of Adel, where he was sensible they should meet with but a cold reception from the inhabitants, and be continually harrassed by their neighbours (G).

Accordingly they were scarce settled there, before the governor of that territory began to lay his treacherous designs for cutting them all off; and would effectually have done it, had they not been constantly upon their guard, and had recourse at length to a stratagem, which they had often tried with success. In other respects, they were such

(G) He made choice of the two small kingdoms of Dowaro and Bale, which he had lately bestowed on his favourite Marco, upon his marriage with the widow of the king of Adel. After that traitor's death, he had given the government of it to one Calido, whom he knew to hate the Portuguese, and would be still a more inveterate enemy to them, as they were to be maintained out of the revenue of these provinces, and thereby greatly diminish his own. To crush them more effectually, the king immediately raised seven thousand horse, six thousand foot, and six hundred archers, against their little squadron, which, our author tells us, hardly consisted now of one hundred and fifty men (2).

(1) Bermud. ubi supra.

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pusillanimous dastards, that they refused to attack them, as soon as they found themselves observed by the enemy, till Calido himself appeared, and obliged them to move forward; little dreaming of the imminent danger he was in; for as he was easily known by his dress, he no sooner came within musket-shot, than seven of their best marksmen, who had been posted in the front, fired at him at once, and brought him down, even before the onset had begun. The rest, seeing their commander dead, immediately laid down their arms, and readily promised to submit, and pay their tribute. This lucky incident procured them four months respite. The emperor, who always looked upon Calido with a jealous eye, was no less agreeably surprised at the news of his death, and sent a messenger to congratulate them upon their success.

The governor of Dowaro slain by them.

A. D 1555. At the end of the four months, they received a fresh message from him, to acquaint them, that the Gallas would soon pour in their numerous forces upon their little camp; as they accordingly did, and made several attempts upon the eminence on which they were then advantageously posted. The Portuguese killed great numbers of them with their fire-arms, as long as their powder lasted; but that being expended, they set about making it, the country abounding with saltpetre and wood, till the emperor in person brought them a fresh supply. Upon his arrival, seeing so great a part of these two kingdoms almost depopulated by those Barbarians, he not only swooned away, and continued senseless a considerable time, but was in danger of losing his reason through excess of grief. They took that opportunity to induce him to be again reconciled to the church of Rome, and to her patriarch, and to give him hopes, that if he did, Providence would not fail of proving more favourable to him. He lent a deaf ear to them, and ordered them to follow him; which they did through several of his provinces, some of which had refused their tribute, and others were ready to follow their example. By their help he reduced the one to their duty, and over-awed the rest.

A new irruption of the Gallas against them.

Their brave defence.

This expedition being ended [u], about winter they desired to return to the province of Beth Miriam, where he had allotted them lands for their subsistence. Bermudez followed them thither; but Don Gaspar de Souza, who was their commander, had strict orders to prevent his making his escape; whilst other Abyssines were enjoined

[u] Bermud. ubi supra. Tellez, & Lobo pass.

to

to have a watchful eye over him, and even to kill him, if he attempted to withdraw. To prevent, therefore, his designs being discovered (for he was resolved at all hazards to try to give that untractable monarch the slip), he pretended to be laid up with the gout, and to want a change of air. During his nephew's absence, he told the principals of the province, that he was going, for the establishment of his health, to the monastery of Debarowa; and hoped that the prayers of the good monks there would contribute to his recovery. By this artifice, he found means to cross the kingdom of Tigre with only eight faithful servants; and, after many windings and stratagems, had the good fortune to reach it, without being stopped or suspected. Here he met with an affectionate reception from the monks, and other Portuguese; but was forced to keep himself concealed *, or rather confined, near two whole years (H), before he could find an opportunity to get to

* Tellez.

(H) Soon after his arrival, the bahrnagash of that country came with no small joy to welcome him, and earnestly to entreat him not to run away, but to return to the emperor. The patriarch, in order to conceal his design, told him, that he only desired to spend the rest of his days in a neighbouring hermitage, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The bahrnagash then begged of him, that he would repeal the dreadful sentence of excommunication, which he had fulminated against the emperor and his subjects; promising, on that condition, to obtain his majesty's permission for his retiring to the hermitage; he accordingly sent an express to him about it. The messenger being returned in a few days, brought word, that his majesty was irreconcileable to him, for having branded him with the names of heretic and excommunicate; that, if it had not been out of regard to the Portuguese, he would have long ago put him to death. He added, that he was a traitor, a forsworn wretch, who had violated the oath he had taken to him not to stir out of his dominions without his leave; and concluded with an express charge to that officer to have him narrowly watched, and to take particular care of him.

Not long after, whilst the bahrnagash was gone to court, Bermudez received the news of Don Antonio Peixoto's arrival with his two gallies at the island of Mazowa; a few days after which, the church of our Lady at Debarwa being by some accident burnt down to the ground, he made that a pretence for going over to that island, in order to beg some money of those Portuguese towards the rebuilding of it; and, by that artifice over-

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Makes his eſcape to Mazowa.

to the iſland of Mazowa, on the Red Sea, where he was to embark for Goa, in a ſhip which was likewiſe to take in an Abyſſinian ambaſſador to the viceroy. He arrived ſafe at that iſland, after a variety of difficulties and dangers, in the year 1556; and was likely to meet with a freſh obſtruction from the ambaſſador, who, ſurpriſed to find him there, refuſed to go on board, if the patriarch was ſuffered to embark. The captain of the gallies, whoſe name was Don Antonio Peixoto, however paid ſo much regard to the prelate, that he readily took him on board his own veſſel; upon which, the envoy went back as ſoon as he ſaw him on board, rightly judging that he ſhould meet but with an indifferent welcome from the viceroy of Goa, if Bermudez ſailed thither with him, and perhaps a much worſe from the emperor at his return.

A.D. 1556.

Sails for Goa and Liſbon.

As to what happened to the patriarch after his arrival at Goa, it being foreign to our preſent ſubject, we ſhall only add, that, after ſeveral freſh dangers and diſaſters, he happily arrived at Liſbon, where he met with a gracious reception from king Stephen, who had by that time ſucceeded John III. and obtained a handſome maintenance from him during the reſt of his life.

Thus ended the patriarch's commiſſion, after a reſidence, or rather troubleſome confinement, of above thirty years in the Abyſſinian dominions. His plain relation to us appears the more authentic, as he had an opportunity of ſeeing many places in it, to which the Jeſuits, ever ſuſpected in thoſe parts, were denied acceſs, and conſequently of being thoroughly acquainted with a much greater number of tranſactions than they, who were kept at a great diſtance from the court, and other ſcenes of action. Thoſe that have written any thing concerning that empire, ſince their expulſion out of it, plainly appear to have affected, from motives of reſentment, to extenuate the power and grandeur of its monarchs. We ſhall conclude his relation with ſome obſervations with which he cloſes his own, to the prince to whom he dedicates it; and which gives us a much clearer inſight into the ends and views of the pope and king of Portugal, in ſending the Abyſſinian emperors ſuch a ſeaſonable aid, than we could ever get from the writings of all his other cautious brethren. They are to this effect:

reached the bahrnagaſh and the Abyſſines, who had the charge of him, and embarked in one of the gallies for Goa (2).

(2) Bermud. ubi ſupra, ad fin. cap.

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"We have been looked upon, and given over, in this country, as altogether lost beyond recovery; and is wholly owing to the little care that hath been taken of us, that our expedition hath proved of so small advantage; and your highness will permit me to assure you, that our affairs were brought to such a state, that, if we had been duly supplied with fresh recruits, we should have proved so strong, and gained such authority over the emperor, that he must, whether he would or no, have submitted to the church; and the people, by our preaching and commerce with them, must have abjured the errors of the Alexandrian church. The conversion of the Abyssinians would have proved so much the easier, as they have no proud and arrogant men amongst them, but are pious, humble, and sincerely zealous for the service of God, and readily yield themselves up to conviction [x].

"And as to the temporal advantage, it might have proved such as neither Peru, with all its gold, nor the Indies, with their vast commerce, would have been able to outweigh. There is a much greater quantity of gold to be found in the kingdom of Damot, and some others that border upon it, than in the whole continent of Peru, and much more easy to be come at, without that vast expence, and those continual wars, which attend the procuring it from the latter."

Claudius's kindness to the other Portuguese.

Claudius, though vexed at the escape of the patriarch, who, without all question, would now use his utmost efforts at the courts of Rome and Lisbon for fresh supplies both of troops and missionaries, to carry on their politic views against his church and empire, took all possible care, during the short remainder of his reign, to prevent their entrance into his dominions, and, at the same time, shewed himself very generous, in all respects, to those that remained, by giving them fertile lands to live on, and enjoy their rich plunder in peace; not doubting but they would become now more tractable and submissive to him, their zealous patriarch being removed. He had not, however, enjoyed long this pleasing prospect, before he saw it unexpectedly troubled by the arrival of a new patriarch from Goa, who quickly revived the old claim of his predecessor with equal assiduity and vehemence; for those two courts were so far from dreaming of the ill success of the former, that they thought of nothing less than to see themselves, in a short time, masters of the whole

[x] Ibid. ad fin.

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empire; and the famous Ignatius Loyola was taking measures to introduce and settle some of his newly-founded fraternity in it, and would willingly have gone thither himself, if the pope had not declared against his undertaking that voyage [y].

A new patriarch and embassy sent into Ethiopia.

For the greater magnificence of this new mission, it was agreed that the king of Portugal should send Don Ferdinand de Sousa as his ambassador to the Abyssinian court, along with Don Nunez de Barreto, the new patriarch. These, accompanied by Don Andreas de Oviedo, with the title of bishop of Nicæa, and father Gonzalo de Sylveira, with that of bishop of Hieropolis, and some others, embarked for Goa on the 15th of March, and arrived there on the 13th of September following, anno 1556. They were quickly apprised of the different state of that empire from what they expected, and therefore resolved not to expose either the patriarch or ambassador to the resentment of the emperor, but to send thither first Don Andreas de Oviedo, with some of his companions. They accordingly sailed in four small vessels, and arrived at Arkico about the end of March, of the ensuing year; from thence they travelled by land to the monastery of Debarowa, where the bahrnagash Isaac resided. This was the same who had formerly introduced Don Christopher de Gama into Abyssinia; and as he had some private views in favouring the Portuguese, and was not without great hopes, by their means, of making himself master of the kingdom of Tigre, one of the largest and richest in the whole empire, he received them with great pomp and affability. The Mohammedan Moors had made some considerable conquests on that side, and were marching still nearer to Debarowa; so that Oviedo not thinking it safe to continue long there, he dispatched a messenger with a letter to acquaint the emperor of his arrival, and the occasion of it, and to beg to be admitted to an audience as soon as possible. The emperor readily consented to it, and the bishop and his company, who made a most gallant shew in their march, met with a very gracious reception. Oviedo being introduced into his presence by the bahrnagash with great solemnity, acquainted him with his commission, importing that the pope and king of Portugal expected no less from him than an effectual and speedy performance of his former engagements.

Oviedo received by the bahrnagash.

[y] Tellez, Codign, Lobo, Ludolph, & al. ubi supra.

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He delivered it in such a manner, that the emperor could not prevent his dislike and resentment from appearing in his looks. At length, recollecting himself, he represented the difficulty there would be to persuade his subjects, who had always acknowleged the Alexandrian patriarch as head of their church, to consent now to such a change; however, he promised that he would advise with his council, and his learned men, about it; and he accordingly consented that the matter should be fairly debated between him and them. Oviedo justly looked upon all this as a pretence to gain time, especially as the emperor, who often assisted at their meetings, made use of such strong arguments as they could hardly withstand. He therefore chose to write against all their errors; and when he thought that he had mastered and sufficiently confuted them all, he delivered the writing to his majesty; who, on his side, did not fail to answer it in the same way, and in such a manner, as if it did not convince him, yet gave him sufficient cause to think that Claudius would never be prevailed upon to submit to the pope or Roman church. This intercourse lasted till the latter end of December 1558, when the bishop thought fit to withdraw from court, and only left an insolent letter behind him, addressed to his Portuguese, and their converts, cautioning them against conversing with schismatics; concluding with an earnest exhortation to the Abyssines to forsake their errors, and submit to the Roman church.

All this while the emperor was making great preparations to go and oppose the progress of the forces of the king of Adel, who had invaded his eastern dominions with a powerful army, commanded by an experienced general, called Noor. This officer burned with impatience to revenge his father's death, who had been killed, with the Moor Granhe, at the battle of Ogara, lately mentioned; and had watched all opportunities to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the strength and state of the empire. Being at length informed that Claudius's forces were neither very numerous, nor sufficiently disciplined to make head against his own, which had been long inured to war, he entered his dominions with a great army of foot, and seventeen hundred horse, putting all to fire and sword wherever he came, till his progress was stopped by the Abyssine forces, which advanced with their monarch at their head [b].

Noor, a Moorish general, invades Ethiopia.

[b] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, &c.

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The Abyssines put to flight.

The two armies met accordingly in a spacious plain, and engaged with the greatest eagerness on both sides; but the Abyssines, who were quite undisciplined, no sooner felt the fury of the first onset, than they threw down their arms, and fled with their usual speed, and left their sovereign in the greatest danger and extremity. The Portuguese, who had been called out on this occasion, but were now dwindled to less than a hundred and fifty, behaved with their usual bravery; whilst the emperor, like a wise and intrepid warrior, struck terror among the infidels, and slew many of them with his own hand. At length being himself quite overpowered by numbers, forsaken by his dastardly troops, having only eighteen Portuguese left, he rushed with them upon the enemy, by whom he was soon pierced with wounds, and ended his life and reign by an honourable death, in the month of March, 1558. The Moors, now masters of the field of battle, pursued their advantage with their usual ferocity, slew great numbers of the fugitives, took a greater number of them prisoners, and plundered the Abyssine camp of immense wealth. Noor, the Adelian general, having gained so complete a victory, immediately returned to Adel, laden with spoils and laurels, and was every where received with acclamations of joy, but more especially in his master's capital, into which he chose to make his entry, mounted on an ass; alleging, that as God alone, for whom he fought, had given him the victory, so all the glory of it was due to him only: a wonderful instance of moderation in an infidel, says our author, and fit to confound the Christians, who are generally puffed up with vanity upon every small success [c].

The emperor's death.

The emperor's memory unjustly blasted.

Such was the unfortunate end of the wise and brave emperor Claudius, in the flower of his age, and in the eighteenth or nineteenth of his reign; during all which, even in his minority, he still strenuously opposed the encroachments of the patriarch Bermudez, his godfather, and of his missionaries; so that he never gave them any hopes of his submitting to the church of Rome, but when he was on the brink of losing his empire: when the danger was over, he found means to evade the execution of his most solemn promises. To this his frequent breach of promise, and obstinate refusal to comply with their demands, those good fathers ascribe his ill success and untimely end, as well as all the disasters that happened in the em-

[c] Tellez, lib. ii. cap. 27. Lobo, Ludolph, & al.

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pire after his death; as if it was indeed a more heinous crime in him to elude the performance of such promises, which had been extorted from him in his extreme danger, and contrary to his conscience, than it was for them to extort and insist on those promises, knowing them to be such; for how much soever they have thought fit to blacken and tarnish his memory, on that account, yet he always acted towards them with an open frankness, and a candid profession of his faith, not only in those disputes which he allowed them to have with his clergy, and wherein he often assisted, and repelled their arguments with such strength and reason, as surprised them all; but much more in that public confession of his faith above mentioned; the sum and substance of which the reader may see in the margin (I); for what was this but an open and

(I) The confession of faith of Claudius, king of Ethiopia.

"In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one only God.

"This is my faith, and the faith of my ancestors, kings of the Israelites; and the faith of my flock, which is within the inclosure of my kingdom.

"We believe in one God, and in his only son Jesus Christ, who is his Word, Power, Wisdom, and Counsel, who was with him before the world was created; and in the latter days came down unto us, though he left not the throne of his Divine Majesty, and was made man by the power of the Holy Ghost, and born of the holy Virgin Mary. He was baptized in the river Jordan in the thirtieth year of his age, and was hanged on the tree of the cross in the days of Pontius Pilate; suffered, died, and was buried, and rose again on the third day. And after forty days he gloriously ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of his Father; and shall thence again come down to judge the quick and dead, whose kingdom shall have no end.

"And we believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, the giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father.

"And we believe one baptism for the remission of sins; we hope for resurrection of the dead, and a future eternal life. Amen.

"We do, in this, walk in the plain and true highway, neither turning to the right or left hand, from the doctrine of the fathers, the twelve apostles; of Paul the fountain of wisdom, of the seventy-two disciples, of the three hundred and eighteen orthodox fathers of the council of Nice, the hundred and fifty of that of Constantinople, and the two hundred of that of Ephesus. And thus I believe and teach; even I, Claudius, king of Ethiopia, and according to the

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and sincere appeal to God and the world, against their tyrannic compelling him to apostatise from a church he could

name of my kingdom, Asnaf Segued, the son of Vanag Segued, the son of Naod.

"As to our observation of the sabbath, or seventh day, we do not do it like the Jews, who crucified our Lord, and cried out, "His blood be upon us and upon our children;" and who neither draw water, nor kindle fire, nor dress victuals, nor bake bread, nor stir out from house to house; but we celebrate it by receiving the holy communion, and assisting at our agapæ or feasts of charity, as they were enjoined by the apostles in their constitutions. We do not celebrate it as we do the first day, which is a new day, of which David speaks, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it;" because on that day our Lord Jesus Christ arose, and the Holy Ghost descended on the apostles, in the house, or parlour (cœnaculum) of Zion; and on the same day Christ was incarnate in the womb of his ever immaculate virgin mother; and shall come again to reward the just and punish the wicked.

"As to our rite of circumcision, we do not receive it as the Jews do, well remembering the words of St. Paul, the fountain of wisdom, that "Neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." The same apostle saying likewise to the Corinthians. "Is any man circumcised, let him not become uncircumcised." The same doctrine he teaches in all his epistles. But circumcision is deemed among us a typical custom, like the scar in the face in Nubia, and the boring the ears among the Indians; and therefore is used by us, not out of regard to the Mosaic law, but as a custom merely human.

The same we say with regard to our abstaining from eating swine's flesh; we neither do condemn those that eat it, nor command or forbid the eating of it, but follow the apostle's prescription to the Romans, "Let not him that eateth not, despise him that eateth, &c. For the kingdom of God consisteth not in meats and drink. To the clean all things are clean, but he sinneth who by his eating gives offence to his brother." The same is also said in St. Matthew's gospel, "Not that which enters into a man, but that which cometh out of him, defileth him;" which utterly overturns the Jewish doctrine which was given to them by Moses.

My religion therefore, and the religion of my priests and doctors, who teach by my authority, and within the circuit of my empire, is not to deviate, or recede in the least from the rules of the gospel, or the doctrine of our holy father St. Paul, either to the right hand

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could so well defend; and from no worthier inducement than that of a reluctant promise forced from him by them in his greatest extremity.

He died without children, and was succeeded by his brother Minas, who had been detained a prisoner of war among the Mohammedan Moors; and, if we may believe the Portuguese writers, had there acquired such cruel savageness in his temper, that his reign proved very tyrannical during the short time it lasted, especially against the Jesuits, missionaries, and all the favourers of the church of Rome. This persecution those good fathers ascribe in a greater measure to the height of libertinism and immorality, which had by this time spread itself among the Portuguese, than to his education among the Turks[d]. But though we do not deny but their loose morals might draw such a severe judgment upon them, yet it is plainly enough to be seen, even by the writings of those fathers, that much more of that ill treatment which they met with from this emperor, was owing to their treachery to him, and their constant caballing with the old bahrnaghash Isaac, who had hatched some treasonable designs in the kingdom of Tigre, and was no farther a friend to them than he found them comformable to his private views. *Is succeeded by Minas.*

Minas, upon his accession to the crown, assumed the surname of Adamas Segued; and, whether apprized of A.D. 1560.

[d] Fernand. Letter to F. Laynez. Tellez, ubi supra, p. 178. Lobo, ap. Le Grand, p. 294, & seq. Ludolph, & al.

or to the left. We read in the book called Zarich, that the emperor Constantine ordered all the Jews that were baptized into the Christian church to eat swine's flesh on the day of our Lord's resurrection; but with us every man may either eat or abstain from it, as seems best to him; some like fish, others fowl, and some abstain from mutton; every one according as he likes best. But as to the eating of the flesh of any living creatures, we find neither law nor canon against it in the New Testament. "To the pure all things are clean. And he who believeth (saith St. Paul, Rom. xiv. 2.) may eat any thing."

This is what I intended to write to you, in order to inform you what my religion is.

Given in the kingdom of Damot, on the 23d of the month of June, in the year of our Lord's nativity, 1555 (1).

(1) De hoc vide Ludolph. Comment.

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their intrigues with that ambitious governor, or on some other account, began very soon to discloſe his hatred to the Portugueſe. Father Emanuel Fernandez, chief of the miſſion, being in expectation of a freſh reinforcement from Goa, which had been promiſed to him on his departure from thence, wrote very preſſingly for it, though to no purpoſe; a diſappointment which threw him into the greateſt difficulties, becauſe, on the one hand, the bahrnaghaſh had put his chief hopes in that ſuccour; and, on the other, the emperor had not only deprived the Portugueſe of all the lands which his brother Claudius had given them, but likewiſe denied them the free exerciſe of their religion, and puniſhed ſome of their converts, and others of their faith, with great ſeverity. Their only refuge, therefore, was in the bahrnaghaſh; but, as no ſuccour came from Goa, they could hardly hope that he would undertake any thing in their favour, eſpecially as they could give him ſo little aſſiſtance in their preſent diſtreſs.

Tazcaro ſet up againſt the emperor.

The emperor, however, had ſo far diſobliged his own ſubjects by his tyranny and cruelties, that the greateſt men in the empire rebelled againſt him, and ſet up a baſtard ſon of an elder brother deceaſed. This young prince, called Habitacum Tazcaro [e], was ſoon joined by the prime officers of Ethiopia, and by the captain of the Portugueſe, with about thirty of his men, the reſt being then at too great a diſtance. Whether the bahrnaghaſh Iſaac was in the conſpiracy or no, we are not ſure; only thus much we know, that he was the firſt againſt whom the emperor Minas bent all his force. Iſaac was then buſy on the ſea-coaſt, executing ſome orders he had received from Tazcaro, and being a martial man, he marched out againſt Minas, and repulſed him at the firſt encounter, but was afterwards defeated and forced to fly. This victory gave that monarch an opportunity to advance againſt his competitor Tazcaro, whom, about the middle of July of the next year, he overthrew, and took priſoner [f].

A.D. 1561.

Iſaac defeated by Minas.

In the interim the bahrnaghaſh, who had with ſome difficulty eſcaped to the ſea-ſide, was there waiting ſtill in expectation of receiving the long wiſhed-for ſupplies from Goa; but his hopes being at length quite fruſtrated, and being no leſs afraid of a ſurprize from the emperor, he

[e] De hoc vide Ludolph, lib. ii. cap. 6. ſect. 27, & ſeq. Tellez, & al. [f] Ludolph, ubi ſupra, & auct. ſup. citat.

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found no other way to provide for his safety than by concluding a league with the neighbouring Mohammedans; by whose assistance he set up another bastard brother in the room of Tazcaro, whom Minas had put to death. Minas lost no time, but marched against him and his Moorish allies at the head of a numerous army. Both sides engaged at first with equal bravery and eagerness, on the 20th of April of the year following; but the fire which the Turkish artillery made against the emperor's forces, threw them into such panic and confusion, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, without striking a blow, and left the enemy masters of their camp. They likewise made a great number of prisoners; among whom was Emanuel Fernandez, and some others of his fraternity, whom the emperor had caused to be detained in his camp as hostages, to be closely watched, as well as severely treated. They might have fared still much worse in the hands of the Turks, their most bitter enemies, had not the bahrnaghash taken pity of them, and procured them their liberty, together with some chalices, and other church utensils, of which they had been stripped. As for the bahrnaghash and his Portuguese, who had consented to his having recourse to the Mohammedans against the emperor, their name became so odious to all the Abyssinians, especially to their monarchs, that they would never suffer any of them to be in their army from that time. What became of the king is variously reported; some say, that seeing his country ruined by the Turks, and his chief sea-ports in their hands, he once more tried his fortune against them, and was defeated and killed; others, that he was forced to escape into some high mountains, where he led a wandering miserable life, till death put an end to it in the year after his defeat[z].

The Abyssinians put to flight.

Minas's death.

By this time, however, the viceroy of Goa, Constantine de Braganza, at the earnest and repeated instances of patriarch Nunez Barreto, had made some attempts in vain to get intelligence from Abyssinia. The Turks had blocked up all entrance into it, and guarded the sea-coast with their ships; insomuch, that of the three vessels sent thither by that governor, in February, anno 1560, one of them was taken, whilst the other escaped with great difficulty. In the first of them, father Fulgentius being made prisoner, continued a slave at Kairo some years, till he was redeemed by order of pope Paul IV. and sent back

The Portuguese ill success on the Red Sea.

[z] Conf. Tellez, Lobo, & al. ubi supra, & Le Grand, p. 295.

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to Portugal. Those Jesuits that still remained in the empire, and were no less desirous to transmit an account to Goa of their dismal situation, had no better luck in their attempt to send some of their society thither. The person they pitched upon was father Gualdares, and another Portuguese, who being come to Mazwa, understood that there was a ship there ready to sail for the Indies; upon which they bribed a Moor with a considerable reward, to go privately and desire the captain to take them in; but the treacherous Moor went immediately and betrayed them to the bashaw of that island; who caused the Jesuit to be seized that very night, and cut in pieces [h].

A.D. 1563. This was the sad situation of the missionaries in Ethiopia when Adamas Segued died, and his son Forza Danghil succeeded him, who then took the surname of Malac or Melchi Segued, and was crowned with the usual solemnity at the church of Axuma. He was a wise and valiant prince, blessed with a long, and, for the most part, successful reign, though hardly ever free from wars, either against some of his revolted subjects, or his now powerful and inveterate enemies the Gallas and Mohammedan Moors; so that he had no time, nor perhaps any inclination, to revive the persecution which his father had raised against the missionaries and their converts, but let them go on in their usual way without any molestation.

Malac Segued crowned emperor.

John Nunez dies at Goa.

In the mean time the pope's patriarch, John Nunez Barreto died at Goa, in the sixth year after his arrival there, that is, anno 1562, without having ever been able to come into his patriarchate; so that, according to the tenor of the pope's bull, he was to be succeeded in it by Andrew de Oviedo, who was now reduced to such a miserable condition, that his new dignity was of very little service to him, being in a manner abandoned by his people, having scarce food enough to keep life and soul together, or cloaths to cover his nakedness. He had retired with a very few friends and proselytes into the monastery of Fremona, a small town not far from the Red Sea, without any forces to support his authority or the credit of his missionaries; for well doth father Tellez observe, from his own experience, that this Ethiopian mission never could thrive longer than the preachers were supported by a sufficient number of forces [i], of which they were now almost wholly destitute. What was still worse,

[h] Tellez, Codign, Lobo, Ludolph, & al.

[i] Ubi supra, p. 184.

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they had not the least hopes of ever receiving any more, either from Portugal or Goa.

The Jesuits suspected at Lisbon.

By this time it was sufficiently known in both those countries, how dreadfully retrograde their affairs had gone during the two last reigns, and how small dependence could be had on the most flattering promises of the Jesuits. Prince Henry, who now governed Portugal, during the minority of king Sebastian, made no difficulty to write to pope Pius V. to desire him to recall his patriarch and all his missionaries out of Ethiopia, and to send them to preach in China, Japan, or any other country, and set aside all farther thoughts of gaining any ground in the Abyssinian dominions, at least till time should offer some better prospect of success. The pontiff, no less apprised of the misfortunes that had attended the mission, readily agreed to his request, and ordered a bull to be expedited for the recall of Oviedo and the rest of the Jesuits, which was accordingly sent to him in the year 1566. Oviedo, who received it the year following, answered his holiness, that he was very willing to obey his orders, and to go and preach in India, or in any other country where he should please to send him; but at the same time humbly represented to him, the difficulty and danger of getting out of Ethiopia, as well as his inexpressible regret for abandoning a country where so great and glorious a harvest of souls might be still reasonably hoped for, if the missionaries could but be supported by five or six hundred Portuguese; alleging the good disposition he had observed in many of the Abyssinians to embrace the catholic faith. He added, that there were moreover great multitudes of heathens, which might be easily brought over to the pale of the church; that many of them, he was credibly informed, had begged that favour of the late emperors, who had, for worldly interest, denied their request.

The question indeed was, how such a considerable reinforcement, had the king of Portugal been inclined to send it, could have found admittance into any part of the empire, now all the sea-ports and sea-coasts were in the hands of the Turks? and if they had, whether the known insolence of those troops would not rather have obstructed than promoted the conversion, either of the Abyssinians or heathens; or at best have been justly looked upon as a kind of dragooning, rather than an evangelical mission: but the good patriarch was so zealously bent upon subjecting the Abyssinian church to that of Rome, and the temporality of the empire to the king of Portugal, that he had

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had not time to consider how far he over-acted the part of an apostle of the meek and gentle Jesus, whom he pretended to represent. Indeed he left no stone unturned, nor motive unurged, to obtain the so much wished-for succour. He represented the present emperor as a weak and indolent prince, quite unfit to hold the reins of such an empire, which would soon be swallowed up by the Turks, and utterly lost to Europe and to the Roman see, unless an effectual stop should be put to their progress by the timely arrival of the Portuguese forces[l]. The pope, however, and the king of Portugal, lent a deaf ear to all his remonstrances; so that he was left to die there in extreme poverty and misery, in the year 1577, after he had resided near twenty years in that country. His death was soon followed by that of the few Jesuits that were left with him. Antony Fernandez, whom he had appointed chief of his first mission, expired soon after, in the same miserable condition; Gonzalez Cardoso was assassinated in a wood by some banditti; Andrew Gualdarez was massacred by the Turks; Emanuel Fernandez, the oldest of all the four, died next; Francis Lobo, the last of them, was the only person who survived, till the year 1596. This was the sad catastrophe of that first mission, after it had lasted forty years, that is, from 1557 to 1597, when father Lobo, or Lopez, died. In all probability it would have succeeded much better, had not the Portuguese insolently insisted upon one third part of the empire as a reward for their assistance, and the pope's patriarch as strenuously exacted a total submission of the emperor, and all his subjects, to the church of Rome[m].

The end of the mission.

The Jesuits revive the mission.

All these multiplied disasters, which made the princes of Europe look upon this enterprize as wholly set aside and impracticable, did only whet the zeal of the Jesuitical society to pursue their solicitations at the courts of Rome and Madrid for reviving it with greater vigour; to which they were encouraged by the great number of Portuguese who were still left in Abyssinia, as well as by the hopes they had conceived of Philip II. who had now got possession of the kingdom of Portugal; and, as they rightly imagined, would gladly embrace any opportunity of renewing a correspondence and commerce with that empire; especially as Malac Segued, who was still involved in wars, both against his rebellious subjects and his Mohammedan

[l] Tellez, ubi supra, p. 194, & seq. Codign. lib. iii. cap. 13, & seq. Lobo, Ludolph. & al. ubi supra. [m] Idem ibid.

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neighbours, might, on that account, be glad enough to accept of some assistance from him. He had indeed been very successful against them, and gained several considerable victories: he had even subdued the rich kingdom of Enarea, and caused the inhabitants to be converted to the Abyssinian faith. But whilst he was employed with his army in one part of the empire, he was still plagued with some invasion or insurrection in another. These frequent revolts encouraged king Philip to send him an obliging letter and message, in order to renew the alliance between the two crowns, and, if possible, to introduce some of his forces once more into that empire. The person he chose for that purpose was one Lewis de Mendoza, then settled at Diu, and well acquainted with the commerce of the Red Sea.

He was to be accompanied by an Italian bishop, named John Baptista, to give an air of grandeur to the message; but he died in the way thither. Mendoza, however, found means to penetrate into Ethiopia, and delivered the letter to the emperor, who expressed a great satisfaction at it, as appears by the answer which he caused to be sent back by the same messenger. It was written in Ethiopic, in an elegant style, full of expressions of friendship and good wishes. It mentioned the Italian bishop's death, and some epistolary correspondence that had passed between the viceroy of Goa and himself, wherein he had desired the viceroy to send him some able workmen to cast cannon and other fire-arms, make gunpowder, swords, and other military weapons. He now renewed the same request to the king his master; but said not one word about sending him any auxiliary forces. The letter is dated February 9, 1589, according to the Roman style, and is kept among the archives of the Escurial. A copy of it was sent from thence to Mr. Ludolph, by a Swedish gentleman, named Sparwerfeld, a person of note and learning; and afterwards translated into Latin by Mr. Ludolph, and published among many others of the Abyssinian monarchs in his Commentary [n].

Mendoza, having so well succeeded in his first expedition, was easily persuaded by the Jesuits to undertake a second, and to introduce with him two of that fraternity, pitched upon by Don Emanuel de Souza Continho, the new governor of Goa, from a good number of others whom their provincial presented to him: these were, An-

[n] Page 483. & seq.

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Montserrato and Pays attempt to go into Abyssinia.

tonio de Montserrato a Catalonian, and Peter Pays a Spaniard, who were to embark in some of the Indian vessels, commonly called banieans, which frequently trade to Mazwa. They accordingly sailed from Goa in February, anno 1588, for Diu, the place where Mendoza resided; but had been driven by a storm into the gulph of Babaos, whence he fetched them privately in the night, and conveyed them to Diu in the habit of Armenians, to prevent their being discovered. They staid a considerable time there before any of those ships would venture to take them in, because the discovery of them would have been followed by a confiscation of the whole cargo, that being the penalty of carrying white men on board without proper passes; so that it was not till December following that they went on board one of those banieans, which designed to land them at Zeyla, but being shattered by a storm, was forced to put into one of the islands called Curia Maria. There they were discovered, stripped, and made slaves of, and were not redeemed till almost seven years after, at a very high price. This slavery, however, proved of singular benefit to father Pays, who became a perfect master of the Arabic tongue, which was afterwards of great service to him upon his arrival in Ethiopia.

Abraham sent into Ethiopia.

When the news of their captivity reached Goa, it was immediately resolved that two others of the same fraternity should be sent thither in their stead, there being now none of them left alive but father Lobo, mentioned a little higher, and he extremely aged and infirm. One of the persons they chose was father Abraham de Georgiis, by nation a Maronite, and by profession a Jesuit; a man of great learning and courage, master of all the eastern languages, and professor of the Syriac at Malabar. This great man set out accordingly from Malabar for Diu, and thence sailed to Mazwa, in a banian vessel, anno 1595. But here being asked by the bashaw whether he was a Mohammedan or a Christian, and he having made an open confession of his faith, and absolutely refusing to save his life by apostacy, was ordered by him to be beheaded. The next that was sent from Goa was father Sylva, or, as some call him, Sylvius, who having embarked at Goa, arrived at Mazwa in the habit of a seaman, and passed thence to Fremona, where he succeeded father Lobo, who died the year before [o].

[o] Tellez, Lobo, Codign. Ludolph, & al.

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We now return to the affairs of Abyssinia, which continued still in a bad plight. The Turks having got footing in the empire ever since the year 1572, were still possessing themselves of some new territories, whilst the Gallas ravaged whole provinces in some distant parts. The emperor was no less unfortunate in his marriage, his empress bringing him none but daughters. He had several sons by his concubines; but they, as bastards, were excluded from the succession. He had cast his eye upon a brother's son, named Za-Denghil, to be his successor; but, a little before his death, having set his affections upon one of his bastard sons, named Jaacob, then a minor, he bequeathed the crown to him, with the consent and approbation of all his nobles, though from no better motive than the hopes of governing that young prince, instead of being governed by his nephew, who was of age, and every way qualified to hold the reins of the empire in such a perilous crisis. He was, however, no sooner returned from his wars against the Gallas of Bachilo, but finding his health decay, and repenting of his former choice, he assembled his nobles and chief officers, and declared to them, that though he had, from a fondness to his own offspring, thought fit to appoint his young son Jaacob for his successor, yet now finding himself drawing near his end, his love, care, and concern for his country obliged him to alter his mind, and ratify the preference he had formerly given to his nephew Za-Denghil, as a person, at this juncture, much fitter to mount the throne, on account of his age, his bravery, and other princely qualities. He expired very soon after, about the middle of August [p], but his rapacious courtiers, instead of complying with his choice, or consulting the laudable inducements which led him to it, firmly and unanimously adhered to his former declaration in favour of Jaacob.

Malac Segued beset by the Turks and the Gallas.

A.D. 1596.

His death.

In consequence of this resolution, they sent two bodies of armed men, the one to seize on Za-Denghil, and the other on Susneus, or, as the Portuguese writers call him, Socinios, another grandson of the emperor David, before either of them were apprised of the emperor's death, or of the person he had made choice of for his successor. Za-Denghil was accordingly seized, and carried away to the lake of Dembea, where he was kept close prisoner in

Za-Denghil imprisoned.

[p] Tellez, lib. iii. cap. 14. Lobo, Ludolph. lib. ii. cap. 6. sect. 49, & seq. Le Grand, et al.

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one of the islands of it, formerly described, and from thence sent some time afterwards upon one of their strong mountains: but Susneus, having got intelligence of their design, had the good fortune to make a timely escape to the frontiers of the empire, where, with a small army, he kept himself safe, till he was raised to the throne. His escape did not prevent the nobles from proclaiming the young Jaacob, then about seven years of age, and engrossing the government into their hands, in conjunction with the empress Mariam-Sma. She had two of her sons-in-law for her associates, the one called Rus Athaneus, and the other Casluade, then viceroy of Tigre; so that young Jaacob had only the bare name of emperor, during his minority; but when he had attained his fourteenth year, and began to shew a desire of sharing the government with them, the alarmed empress, and her two sons-in-law, conscious of their tyrannical conduct, immediately altered their behaviour towards that prince. Under pretence of remorse for having deprived Za-Denghil of his right, they ordered him to be fetched out of his confinement, and proclaimed him emperor even in the very camp where Jaacob still was; who thereupon made his escape with only eight of his servants, towards the high mountains of Semen, where he might have been safe enough, had he not been betrayed by one of his own retinue. This traitor took an opportunity, whilst the young prince was reposing, to go and alarm a neighbouring town, with the news of Za-Denghil's being proclaimed emperor, and Jaacob's having fled thither for refuge; threatening them, at the same time, with the new emperor's displeasure, if they did not apprehend and carry him prisoner to the imperial camp. He was accordingly seized, and conveyed thither; and when he was brought before Za-Denghil, his nobles proposed his nose and ears should be cut off, in order to disqualify him for the government; but the more generous emperor contented himself with sending him close prisoner to the distant kingdom of Enarea, where he was strictly watched by the governor of it, till he found an opportunity of remounting the throne [q].

Jaacob sent prisoner to Enarea.

During these transactions, the famed Jesuit Father Pays had found means to penetrate into the borders of Abyssinia, and met with a joyful reception at the convent of Fremona, where he had spent some time in composing

Father Pays's invitation and arrival at court.

[q] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, & al.

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and distributing a catechism among their proselytes, whilst he was waiting for an answer to a letter he had sent to the young emperor Jaacob, then on the throne. Za-Denghil, upon his accession, was soon apprised of the Jesuit's being at Fremona, and of his character as a learned man, a great traveller, politician, and zealous catechist. The emperor being naturally curious and affable, sent him a pressing invitation to come to his court, by an obliging letter, which, for its singularity, we thought worthy of being inserted in the margin (K). The father gladly accepted the favour; but the viceroy of Tigre, who was to conduct him to court, was obliged to delay his departure, on account of an irruption which the Gallas had lately made into three different parts of the empire; against the most considerable of which, the emperor was obliged to march in person, whilst his viceroys had orders to stop the progress of the other two. The first of these was made into the kingdom of Gojam; the viceroy of which had orders from him not to attack the numerous barbarians, till he had joined him; but he, willing to put a stop to their cruel ravages, and venturing to fall upon them contrary to his instructions, was totally defeated; a disaster which obliged the emperor to double his speed to go and attack them. By that time he was come within their reach, his forces were so fatigued with their march, as well as discouraged by the late defeat, that they would willingly have deferred fighting; but seeing themselves attacked by the enemy in three different bodies, with their usual fury,

(K) The letter of the emperor Za-Denghil, or Aznaf Segued, to father Pays.

"May the letter of the emperor Aznaf Segued come to the hands of the worthy father, who is master of the Portuguese. How is your health? Hear what follows, and the good things which our Lord God hath done for us. We were seven years in prison, and endured innumerable hardships: but our Lord God, taking compassion on our misery, brought us out of it, and hath given us the empire, and hath made us head of all; even as David says, "The stone which the builders rejected is become the head corner-stone." Now may the same Lord end that well which he hath begun. Hear farther, that we are very desirous that you should come speedily to us, and that you bring the books of justice of the kings of Portugal, if you have them; for we shall be glad to see them (1)."

(1) Apud Tellez, ubi supra, lib. iii.

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the right and left wing were quickly put to the rout, and betook themselves to flight: the chief officers came to persuade the emperor to retire, before he was surrounded by the enemy; but were not a little surprised, when they beheld that undaunted young prince, instead of clapping spurs to his horse, alight from him, and, taking his shield in one hand, and his sword in the other, pronounce with an intrepid look, "Here I am resolved to die; you may indeed escape the enemy's sword, but never can the infamy of abandoning the emperor you have so lately proclaimed." These words had such a sudden effect upon his troops, that one would have thought he had at once transformed them from sheep into lions: they rallied with the utmost speed, and fell with such desperate fury upon the enemy, that they forced them to turn their backs, and fly with precipitation, whilst the other two wings, observing their flight, pursued them with fresh vigour, and did not give over killing till night obliged them to desist[r].

The emperor defeats the Gallas.

Returns victorious to his camp.

Next morning, the emperor leaving the field of battle strewed with their dead bodies, marched immediately over craggy and high mountains to find out their second army; whom his troops, now flushed with victory, charged with such success, that they defeated them with a fresh slaughter of the greater part. The news of these two actions, so alarmed the third body, that they betook themselves to a hasty flight, excepting four hundred, who were posted on a high mountain to guard some of their booty. These likewise the emperor caused to be attacked by some of his best troops, who executed his orders with such valour and success, that the Gallas, after a stout defence, were for the most part cut in pieces. After these victories, the emperor led his army to his usual residence; being no less beloved by his subjects, than dreaded by his enemies, for his singular valour and extraordinary success.

Father Pays is brought to court.

It was not long, however, before he quite forfeited the affections of the former, by the arrival of father Pays in the imperial camp, and the surprising ascendant which that politic and intriguing Jesuit gained over him: for no sooner had the Tigrean viceroy received the news of his victorious return, than he accompanied the Jesuit to Ondegere, near the Dembean lake, where the court was, and where he was quickly admitted into the royal pre-

[r] Tellez, ubi supra. Ludolph, Lobo, &c.

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fence with great solemnity. After having had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand, he was ordered to sit down on the highest step on which his couch or throne stood, where they conversed together a considerable time, without any regard to the rest of the company; then the emperor ordered him to be handsomely entertained, and gave him leave to withdraw[s].

Holds a conference about religion.

What the subject of their conference was, Tellez leaves us to guess; which is no hard matter to do, since he sent for him again next day, to hold a public dispute with the Abyssinian monks, and other persons of note. The viceroy of Tigre begged of the emperor, that, having heard the master, he would also examine his scholars, who were brought thither for that purpose; and, with whose answers to their catechism, the prince was so highly pleased, that he begged a copy of it; which was immediately presented to him. Next Sunday, he sent for the father to say mass, and preach before him; and profited so well under his new instructor, that he forthwith issued out a proclamation against observing the sabbath, and went on so fast in other respects, that the good father was forced to advise him to proceed more gently. It is indeed very likely that all this pretended warmth was rather owing to the expectation he was in of receiving some considerable reinforcement from Goa, which that father made him hope for, than to any conviction in favour of the Roman church. He wrote two letters; one to pope Clement VIII. and the other to Philip II. of Spain, filled with the greatest expressions of zeal for their church and persons. That, in particular, to the pontif contained the strongest promises and engagements of universal obedience to his see, and the deepest sentiments of gratitude to his holiness, whose zeal, he was given to understand by father Pays, for the salvation of souls was such, that he was labouring at it even to the effusion of his blood. He therefore desires him, as the true vicar of Christ, and the successor of St. Peter and St. Paul, to promote the alliance and friendship he was then negotiating with the king of Spain; to prevail on him to dispatch a sufficient number of forces into Abyssinia, to assist him in suppressing the barbarous Gallas; and, at the same time, to send him some fathers to instruct his subjects in the true faith. He concludes with these words, "Let those fathers you send us, be virtuous and learned, that they may teach us

[s] Tellez, ubi supra, cap. 18, & seq. Lobo, Ludolph.

what is requiſite for the good of our ſouls. Few words to the wiſe."

Theſe letters Mr. Ludolph very much ſuſpects of being forged. However that be, father Pays ſent them into Europe, as delivered to him by the emperor's own hand, who calls himſelf in them Aznaf Segued, the name he had taken at his coronation. He adds, that he ordered him at the ſame time to write more explicitly to the pope, and to acquaint him, that the ſuccours which he aſked for, were to ſecure him againſt ſuch of his ſubjects as ſhould oppoſe his eſtabliſhing the Roman faith in Ethiopia; and that he only mentioned them as deſigned againſt the Gallas, in order to amuſe his ſecretary, as he himſelf dared not write it with his own hand, leſt, if it ſhould be intercepted, his own ſubjects ſhould riſe up and murder him. The other, to the king of Spain, was much in the ſame ſtrain; and, beſides the above mentioned ſupply of foces, he deſired him to ſend one of his daughters to give in marriage to his ſon. Father Pays was moreover preſented with three hundred ounces of gold, which he abſolutely refuſed, begging only of him the liberty of building a church, which being readily granted, he went in queſt of ſome proper perſon to ſend with his letters.

A rebellion raiſed againſt him.

Theſe proceedings ſoon alarmed the great officers of the empire; the abuna Peter himſelf declared againſt them, and abſolved all the people from their allegiance to the emperor. At the ſame time, a turbulent fellow, named Za-Salaſſe, whom that prince had recalled from his baniſhment in the kingdom of Enarea, during the reign of young Jaacob, put himſelf at the head of the malcontents; who, perceiving the danger of their church, were now riſing up in arms in defence of it, and had reſolved to reſtore the crown to young Jaacob, then cloſe priſoner in Enarea. He was joined in this deſign by ſome of the greateſt officers in Abyſſinia, and particularly by Ras Athenæus, one of the empreſs's ſons-in-law; ſo that the conſpiracy was ſoon brought to too great a head; under thoſe great commanders, to be ſuppreſſed by Za-Denghil, eſpecially as the abuna's interdict had cauſed ſuch a defection among his troops, that he had hardly any left to ſupport him, or that he could confide in, except his Portugueſe, about two hundred in number, with their brave commander John Gabriel at their head. To theſe, and to father Pays, he addreſſed himſelf in words to this effect: "This revolt is raiſed againſt me, becauſe I was deſirous to bring my ſubjects into the true faith, and to deliver them

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them from the oppression of tyrants; meaning those who held the reins during Jaacob's minority." They advised him to delay engaging the rebel army, which was so superior in number, till he could so far increase his own as to be able to make head against them; which advice was so much the more reasonable, as he had, in his march, augmented his own forces to about ten thousand men, and new troops came daily to his standard.

They penetrated at length to the large plain of Varcha, almost in the very heart of the kingdom of Dembea, where they were soon alarmed with the noise of the enemy's trumpets and kettle-drums, who lay incamped at a small distance from them. The traitor Za-Salasse no sooner heard of their arrival than he was for attacking them immediately, before any of his men had time to go over to the emperor: and for the same reason, the Portuguese general was for declining the battle for a while; but Za-Denghil, who could not bear to be braved by the rebels, confiding perhaps too much in the justice of his cause, ordered his army to be ranged in battle array. He placed his two hundred Portuguese, with some of his own men, on the right, whilst he commanded the left in person. The Portuguese fell immediately on the rebels with their usual fury, and soon put them to flight, whilst Za-Denghil, on his side, fought with no less intrepidity; but being by degrees abandoned by the greater part of his pusillanimous troops, and supported only by a small number of his faithful and bravest friends, one Humardin, a Moor, who served under the rebels, observing the confusion they were in, made up directly towards the emperor, and with his lance gave him such a desperate wound on the neck, that he brought him to the ground. He quickly started up, and with his sword defended himself for some time, till the traitor Za-Salasse came riding full speed, with his lance couched against him, and wounded him in the face; upon which, the rest soon put an end to his life with their swords.

Attacks the rebels too soon.

Defeated and killed.

Thus fell that noble emperor a sacrifice to his untimely zeal, who might, in all probability, have reigned long and happily over his subjects, if he had not exasperated them by his too open affection for a church, against which they professed an irreconcileable dislike. The battle was fought on the 13th of October of the year succeeding that of his coronation, after a short reign of fifteen months. His death put an end to the rebellion,

A.D. 1604.

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which had been chiefly raised in opposition to his too violent measures in favour of the church of Rome; whilst the disorders that followed soon after gave Susneus, the next competitor for the crown, a fair opportunity of making a successful attempt upon it[t].

Susneus revives his pretensions.

We have already taken notice how this prince, whom the Portuguese writers commonly call Socinios, made his escape into the distant frontier kingdom of Amhara, to escape the snares of the ministers and partisans of young Jaacob; and here, it seems, he maintained himself, though in great distress, yet with a resolution and bravery worthy the son of the great Basilides, or Faciladas, who lost his life in fighting against the Gallas, and the grandson of the noble emperor David. As soon, therefore, as he understood that the throne was become vacant by the death of his cousin Za-Denghil, and that the deposed bastard Jaacob was detained close prisoner in the farthermost parts of the empire, he sent immediately one of his faithful friends, named Bella Christos, to Ras Athenæus and Za-Salasse, the two leading men in the empire, to demand their assistance in asserting his rightful pretensions to the crown: the former consented, after some hesitation, and soon after joined him with his forces; at the head of whom he was proclaimed emperor, by the title of soltan Segued. The same messenger applied next to Za-Salasse, who answered, that though he thought the crown belonged to Jaacob, as he had been already crowned, yet if he did not come by June next, he would acknowlege Susneus. This answer not satisfying him, he sent another nobleman, and a monk, with a letter, importing, that, as he was now proclaimed emperor, he would never resign his title to Jaacob, nor even to his own father, if he was to rise from the dead. Za-Salasse, having secured the messenger, marched with his whole army against him, resolving to deliver his own answer to him sword in hand, a circumstance which obliged him to retire again to Amhara, he being then sick; but when Za-Salasse perceived that the summer was almost spent, and Jaacob not yet come out of Enarea, he was easily perswaded to make his submission to the new emperor. Susneus sent a monk to administer the oath of allegiance to them, and they proclaimed him emperor. Salasse then sent ten of his chief officers to compliment and pay homage to him in his name, with an additional protestation,

Proclaimed by Athenæus, and Za-Salasse.

[t] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, Le Grand, &c.

that

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that he would stand by him against all opposers, and even Jaacob by name, should he now come from Enarea [u].

These were no sooner come to the kingdom of Bagemder, or Begameder, where Susneus was already arrived, and where he was receiving them with feastings and other tokens of joy, than news were brought to Za-Salasse, that Jaacob was got near Dembea, and had sent orders to come and join him; upon which, without the least regard to the oath he had taken to Susneus, he immediately complied, and led his army to Jaacob, sending, at the same time, a private message to the ten officers he had sent to Susneus, to come and join him without delay. This defection obliged the emperor to withraw once more to Amhara, as he was not in a condition to make head against them, whilst Jaacob was received with all demonstrations of joy, and immediately created the traitor general of all his forces. Ras Athenæus came next with all his troops, to pay his homage to him, and met with a no less gracious reception; but their treachery proved a serious warning to him against putting too great a confidence in them; so that, unwilling to depend on the instability of fortune, he chose rather to come to a composition with his rival, and sent him accordingly an offer of the kingdoms of Amhara, Olear, and Xaoa, with all the rich lands his father possessed in the kingdom of Gojam, provided he quitted his title to the empire. To this proposal Susneus answered, that he had a just claim to the throne, and would have all, or none; upon which, Jaacob finding himself strong enough, marched directly against him, and encamped so near, that he was forced again to withdraw, and wait for a more favourable opportunity [x].

They prove treacherous to him,

Whilst Jaacob marched in pursuit of him, Za-Salasse instead of following him, took a quite different road with his own army, without giving any reason for his so doing; the news of which being brought to Susneus by his spies, he went and posted himself in ambush, at a pass called Montor Daffar, where he suddenly fell upon and totally routed him. The traitor, with some difficulty, escaped to Jaacob, and left his army, camp, and treasure at the mercy of the conqueror; so that he met with but a very cold reception from Jaacob at his arrival. This slight exasperated him still more, and made him abandon his party to go over to Susneus. Jaacob, not less enraged at his treachery, marched directly against his competitor,

Za-Salasse defeated.

[u] Tellez, Lobo, Ludolph, Le Grand, &c. [x] Id. Ibid.

petitor, fully resolved to give him battle. He removed his camp from place to place, whilst the more politic Susneus, like another Fabius Cunctator, kept himself on the more elevated grounds, watching for a proper time to fall on him. At length, as he was decamping on Saturday the 10th of March, the enemy, who were thirty to one, believing that he fled, pursued him with loud shouts; so that he was, against his inclination, obliged to engage. Having animated his handful of men with great promises of reward, he led them down the hill with such impetuous bravery, that, to use the words of the Ethiopic historian Tino, the enemy fell down before him like autumn leaves before the wind. Jaacob himself was borne down in the tumult, yet no man could boast that he had killed him. The abuna Peter was slain likewise; a circumstance which Susneus no sooner learned, than he put a stop to the pursuit, in order to spare the rest; but they were all seized with such a panic, that there was no possibility of stopping them; insomuch that, night overtaking them in their flight, a much greater number perished by falling down the rocks and precipices than by the sword. Next morning they found above six hundred horses dashed in pieces at the foot of a rock a hundred yards high, and the ground covered with the dead bodies of their riders. Ras Athenæus, who had likewise gone over to Jaacob's side, escaped, and took refuge in the monastery of Duna, and was afterwards pardoned by Zela Christos, Susneus's brother. Thus ended Jaacob's life and reign, after having been twice raised to the throne, from thence sent the first time into banishment, and the second into another world [y].

Clemency to them. Susneus, or soltan Segued, by this unexpected victory, secured himself on the throne, and freely forgave all the revolters that had escaped, excepting only the Mooriſh officer Mahardin, or, as some call him, Humardin, who had formerly given the first wound to Za-Denghil, and whose head he caused to be struck off (L). He spent three whole

[y] Tellez, Ludolph, & al. ubi sup.

(L) Susneus was about thirty-three years of age when he gained this noble victory. He is described to us as a well-shaped genteel person, his visage long, but well proportioned, his head of hair well-spread, his eyes of a fine hazel-colour, very sparkling and amiable, seemingly obliging all men by his looks: his nose was sharp, his lips thin, his beard black, but broad; his stature above the middle size, well-set, and brawney,

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whole days in distributing the spoil of the enemy among his soldiers, and, with a singular generosity, rewarded those who were most deserving. He afterwards marched to Coga, a place situated between Dembea and Bagameder, where the late Jaacob usually kept his court. As for the traitor Za-Salasse, he soon drew upon himself, by his indiscretion, the punishment which he had so often deserved by his treachery; for being one day heard to brag, that some wise men had foretold him, that he would be the death of three monarchs, and that he had destroyed two of them already, the words were immediately carried to Susneus, who caused him to be sent to the strong mountain of Guzman, in the kingdom of Gojam, of which he had been lately made viceroy by Jaacob. He thence made his escape, after a year's confinement, and put himself at the head of a gang of banditti, in the province of Oleca, where the inhabitants, having caught him in an ambush, cut off his head, and sent it stuck upon a spear to the emperor, who caused it to be set up before his own palace. Athenæus, or Athanatæus, fared not much better; for that prince caused him to be stripped of his ill-gotten lands, and soon after, his wife, according to the custom of the Abyssinian princesses, abandoned him; so that he was reduced to the meanest condition, after having been formerly the first man in the empire, next to the emperor. Susneus likewise caused the grants of lands formerly settled upon the Jesuits to be confirmed to them for ever [z]. So fond was that monarch of the company of those fathers, that finding upon his arrival at Coga, they were retired to their monastery at Fremona, he sent immediately for them; and, as it was then in the winter-season, ordered them to come by the way of the Dembean lake: they readily complied, notwithstanding the risk they ran from the lightness of their tancons, or small rush-boats, and the sea-horses which infest that lake; being no less ready to answer the summons of so kind a friend than he was to have them near him, to

Jesuits called to court.

[z] Tellez, & al. ubi sup.

ney, and, in all respects, much like an European, except the brownness of his complexion. He was moreover an excellent horseman, bold, brave, and resolute, and well-read in the Ethiopian books. He was discreet, courteous, bountiful, and warlike, inured to martial hardship, as having been ten years successively in arms, without one day's intermission (1).

(1) Pays, apud Tellez, ubi sup. lib. iii. cap. 30.

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consult them on every exigence, and especially about getting, if not some fresh forces, at least, a supply of workmen, to cast him some new guns and bombs, and make gunpowder, and other necessary utensils of war.

A.D. 1608. Whilst they were thus hatching their new projects, they were alarmed by a strange report, that the late emperor Jaacob, whom they supposed to have been slain in battle, was still alive, and had gained a considerable number of partizans in the kingdom of Tigre. In fact, a bold youth, whether the real Jacob, or an upstart impostor, assumed the title, and appeared in and about the monastery of Bizan, a proper place for his purpose, on account of its vicinity to the port of Mazwa, especially as those monks of the order of St. Eustatius, were very numerous, and dispersed through great part of that kingdom, where they served as curates, and bore a great sway among the populace, who came flocking about him accordingly, as to their emperor, whom God had miraculously preserved. The better to conceal the little resemblance there was between the countenance of that prince and his own, he wore a scarf over his head, which falling down below his chin, covered the greater part of his face; pretending that he had received a stroke of a spear in the late battle, which had broke out his teeth, and sadly disfigured him. This allegation was believed without any farther examination; insomuch that all, either out of pity to his misfortune, or in hopes of being amply rewarded, accommodated him with horses, mules, arms, and what other things they could spare. Many who lived by robbing, came over to him, in hopes of plunder; and he saw himself, in a short time, at the head of a powerful army, with whom he descended into the low lands, and committed the most cruel outrages. Having plundered a caravan of some gold, he caused it to be flatted, and made into the shape of the Abyssinian crown, elsewhere described.

An impostor sets up for the emperor Jaacob.

He had at length grown so powerful and formidable, that the emperor was obliged to send his brother Sella Christos with an army against him, composed of what forces he had, though much inferior in number, whilst Ala Christos was ordered to march with another body into Bagameder. However, the imperial forces being better disciplined, easily routed those of the pretended Jaacob, and forced him to fly back to the mountains beyond Debaroa: but whilst the emperor thought of putting a stop to one evil, he brought a much greater upon himself; for the restless Gallas, whom Sella Christos' presence deterred

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red from committing any hostility in his government, no sooner heard of his being marched to a considerable distance than they entered the province with such a numerous train, than Susneus was obliged to collect what forces he had, and to advance against them; and, being vastly inferior in number, was twice defeated. The news of this disaster rendering the counterfeit Jacob more daring and insolent, and Sella Christos less able to make head against him, an express was sent to the emperor by the latter, desiring him to march with all possible speed with his whole army to Axuma, in order to be crowned there, as usual; to which proposal he the more readily consented, as he had now taken his revenge of the Gallas, and gained a complete victory.

The sham Jacob defeated.

Whilst he was upon his march, the impostor, who had heard only of his two defeats, but not of his victory, was the more encouraged to come down from his high mountains, as a report had been, perhaps designedly, spread among his men, that Sella Christos was fled, and had left all his tents behind. He was, however, soon undeceived, when the viceroy came suddenly upon him, and, after an obstinate fight, routed him with great slaughter; so that he was driven again to his old shelter among the rocks. The king still continuing his march over the high mountains of Lamalmon, arrived safe at the head of his army in the neighbourhood of Axuma, and was soon after crowned with the usual solemnity in that metropolis, by the abuna, on Sunday the 23d of March; his brother Sella Christos and father Pays assisting at the ceremony.

The emperor crowned.

Jaacob hides himself in a cave.

As soon as the coronation was over, the king marched directly in search of the impostor among the mountains of Debarowa. The pseudo Jaacob having notice of his approach, dismissed his men, and, with only four servants, and a few goats, hid himself so closely, that the emperor could not find his retreat. In the mean time, a slave of the late emperor Malac Segued, named Melchizedech, coming from the mountains of Amhara, joined Arsoo, said to have been a brother of the late Za-Denghil, and marched with him into the kingdom of Dembea. Against these the emperor sent his brother with a good force who came time enough to stop their progress. The rebels thinking themselves strong enough to engage him, the slave was slain in the fight, and Arsoo taken prisoner, and sent to the emperor, who ordered him to be beheaded. Susneus, before his departure from these parts, was pleased to visit the monastery of Fremona, and made a present to the

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the Jesuits of three hundred pieces of eight, leaving the abuna Simeon to be instructed by them in the Romish faith: then he marched homeward, accompanied by the viceroy Sella Christos, and left Ampsala Christos, a brave and prudent nobleman, governor of the kingdom of Tigre [t].

Jaacob appears again.

All this time Jaacob had continued in his cave, he and his four servants, supported with the milk of a few goats; but, being now informed of the emperor's departure, he ventured to come out, whilst the governor Ampsala, whom that monarch had left with a strict charge to ferret him out, lay sick at Gtopel near Fremona, with only a handful of men. This circumstance encouraged a couple of banditti to join Jaacob, in hopes to surprise and murder the sick governor. They had one thousand five hundred men with them, and would infallibly have succeeded in their attempt, had not one of them, by taking a shorter route, brought him timely notice of his danger. The viceroy, sick as he was, would have gone to meet them; but a Portuguese advised him to conceal a few of his musketeers in some convenient pass, who should fire upon them as soon as they approached. The scheme succeeded to their wish: the rebels, at the first firing, fell flat upon their faces; then starting up, betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter, seventeen of them being taken prisoners. Jaacob escaped once more, but was at length taken by two Abyssine officers, who beheaded him, and sent his head to the emperor. Such was the end of that impostor, who had caused so much mischief and bloodshed in the empire; and yet there wanted not partizans, who, either out of dislike to the emperor and his Jesuits, or from some other views, gave out that he had escaped, and fled into India; insomuch that it was afterwards strongly reported, that there was a man in the kingdom of Decan so very like him, that he was believed to be the very same person [u].

Beheaded.

The Roman missionaries had never been in such a hopeful condition as now: the pope and king of Spain, though they seemed quite forgetful of the emperor's request, with respect to forces and workmen, yet took care to send them fresh supplies of preachers, who were sure to meet with a gracious reception from him, especially as they came fraught with fresh promises with regard to the other

[t] Tellez, Lobo, & al. ubi sup.

[u] Ibid. Vide et Le Grand, Dissert. ix. p. 300, & seq.

two

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two articles; though, in all likelihood, no such thing was designed.

The following year, the court being removed from the old station to Deghana, a place on the north-side of the Dembean lake, in the neighbourhood of Gorgora, where the fathers resided, they had frequent opportunities of conversing and disputing with Sella Christos, the emperor's brother, during that and the following year. He is represented as a wise, learned, and affable prince; and whether really convinced in his mind, as they affirm, or out of a servile complaisance to his brother, we will not take upon us to say; but it appears from their account, that, about the same time that he made public profession of his conversion to the church of Rome, which was the very next year, the emperor removed his imperial camp from thence into the kingdom of Gojam, and created him viceroy of it; a promotion almost equivalent to the making him king, as he gave him the whole revenue of that country, and caused him to be obeyed in it like the emperor himself. From that time Sella Christos became not only a zealous proselyte, and main support to the Roman church, both during the life and after the death of that monarch, but drew great numbers of the grandees and nobles of the empire, by his example and interest, into the same creed. He next caused a church and monastery to be built for the use and residence of the Jesuits, which was the first they ever had in the kingdom of Gojam, and the third they now possessed in Abyssinia; the first being at Fremona, in the kingdom of Tigre, and the second that of Gorgora, near the lake of Dembea[w]. This new church was endowed with large revenues, and extensive territories, by that viceroy, for the maintenance not only of the Jesuits, but for the Portuguese widows and orphans, which were dispersed through the empire, and in great want of such a charitable provision. The emperor, on his part, who had not yet sent an answer to the obliging letter which father Pays had brought him about five years before from Philip II. of Spain, was now more at leisure to return this compliment with suitable magnificence. To that end he made choice of one of his court, named Takor, or Tagur Egzye, a person of great prudence and experience, and a very great zealot for the Romish church, to go thither on an embassy from him, accompanied by father Anthony Fernandez.

A.D. 1610.

Sella Christos embraces the Roman faith.

A.D. 1612.

An embassy sent by the emperor.

[w] Id. ibid.

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Takes the route through Enarea.

Instead of going, as usual, to Mazwa, they were, for their greater safety, to make the best of their way through the kingdom of Enarea to the coast of Melinda. This road, which was contrived by Sella Christos, in order to avoid the Turks, proved no less difficult and dangerous from another quarter, which he had not foreseen. They A.D.1613. set out from Dembea about the beginning of March, in the following year, with ten Portuguese, four of whom engaged to attend him to India, the other six only to the frontiers of Enarea; and, when they arrived at the kingdom of Gojam, the viceroy furnished him with an escorte of Gallas and Xates, whom he had hired to conduct them, because the way lay through their territories. They departed from Ombrana, where the viceroy's camp was, for the kingdom of Enarea, on the 15th of April, attended by forty men, armed with darts and targets. It would be tedious to particularize the many difficulties they met with in their crossing the Nile, and vast ridges of mountains, and in travelling through some of the territories of the barbarous Gallas and Caffres, before they reached the kingdom of Enarea, the last territory belonging to the Abyssinian empire [x]. Even the Abyssinians themselves were so dissatisfied with this expedition, which they looked upon as a step calculated to introduce the Portuguese, in order to bring their nation under their power, and their church under that of the pope, that they did all they could to render their journey more difficult and dangerous. This disgust was plainly perceived by the cold reception which the ambassador met with from the suspicious viceroy of Enarea, and from the various stratagems he used to find out the design of the embassy, which they were, on their part, as careful to conceal. He discovered enough, however, to convince him, and the great men of his court, whom he consulted upon it, that it was by no means expedient to let them continue the route that had been chalked out to them; seeing that was indeed the most safe and expeditious into India, and with which, if the Portuguese were once acquainted, it would be easy for them to pour in their forces upon them, and subdue them both to their king and religion; wherefore they resolved to send them a great and difficult way about, through the kingdom of Balii; to which circuit the fathers, after much contest, were obliged to submit. The viceroy having presented them with thirty ounces of gold, to defray their charges,

[x] De hoc, vide supra, p 38.

and

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and ordered proper officers to conduct them on their way through the kingdom of Gingiro, along with an ambassador from that kingdom, who was then at his court, to whose care he committed the fathers, he gave them leave to depart.

An Abyssinian, named Manker, being dispatched by some of those grandees of Susneus's court, who were averse to this embassy, betrayed their whole design to the governor of Amelmal, in the kingdom of Camale, and, at the same time, incensed all the people against them; upon which, the governor caused them to be arrested, till he had sent to the Abyssinian court for farther instructions. Three months elapsed before an answer returned, with express orders to that governor, to help them on their journey, and to furnish them with all they wanted. It was in the month of June next year before these orders arrived; so that they had spent already fourteen months from their first setting out. The governor complied with the emperor's orders; but the Mooriſh prince Alico, being instigated by Manker, caused them to be stopped again, and imprisoned, when they reached his territories. A strict search was made into all their cloaths and baggage, in order to find out the emperor's letters, which the father had providentially tied about the brawny part of his arm, so that they escaped a discovery. Apprehending, however, the danger of a second search, he resolved at any rate to prevent it; and calling for some fire, and a pipe of tobacco, found means to burn the letters undiscovered. Alico, having detained them ten days, released them without farther harm, though Manker was very pressing to have them put to death; only, at his instigation, he kept three of his four Portuguese prisoners, and, to prevent the governor of Amelmal's assisting the ambassador to proceed on his journey by some other way, ordered him to return to the Abyssine court by another route; where, after many fatigues and dangers, he at last safely arrived, with father Fernandez [1].

Manker sent to stop them.

A.D. 1614.

Forced to go back.

The emperor was exceedingly incensed at their return, and the account they gave of their journey; from the circumstances of which he clearly perceived how odious all his measures were become to his subjects, and what a difficult task he was like to have to bring about his designs. To remove one of the main obstacles to it, he

[1] Tellez, Lud. & al. ubi sup.

bethought

bethought himself of ordering sundry conferences and disputations to be held between the Portuguese and the Abyssines on the controverted points; the result of which was, that, becoming impatient at the obstinacy of the latter, he issued out a proclamation, forbidding, under the severest penalties, any of his subjects to maintain, that there was but one nature in Christ. This edict, and some others, which followed in favour of the church of Rome, failed not of putting the whole empire, and especially the clergy, into a violent ferment. The abuna Simeon immediately came to court, and threatened to excommunicate all that adhered to the Romish doctrine. Being supported by Emana Christos, another of Susneus's uterine brothers, he ventured to put his threats in execution, and affixed the sentence of excommunication to the gates of one of the churches of the imperial camp. The emperor immediately issued another proclamation, giving leave to all his subjects to embrace the faith which the Portuguese fathers preached, and had so learnedly defended in their late disputations against the Abyssinian doctors. This was soon followed by a fresh anathema from the abuna, who taking advantage of the emperor's being absent, on an expedition against the revolted Agaus, wrote circular letters to all his clergy, in defence of the old Abyssinian faith, and condemning all that opposed it.

A proclamation against the Abyssinian faith.

Abuna's excommunication of the Roman.

This last measure augmenting the general discontent against the Roman missionaries, a young nobleman, named Julius, or Ælius, or, as the Abyssinians pronounce it, Eulos, son-in-law to the emperor, at that time viceroy of the kingdom of Tigre, and a great enemy of Sella Christos, ventured to take up arms in defence of the old religion, and to persecute the Romish fathers at Fremona, and all their converts throughout his government. The emperor being apprised of this persecution, immediately sent orders to the abuna, and father Pays, to repair to the imperial camp, that the scruples of the one might be removed by the arguments of the other. They both readily obeyed; but the former came attended with such a multitude of monks and nuns, that they out-numbered the army; and all of them protested, that they would sooner die than forsake the ancient faith, and, on their knees, begged of the emperor, that he would not persist in his innovations. The manner in which that monarch rejected their request was such as put them out of all hopes of prevailing; whilst Ælius his son-in-law, Emano Christos his brother, and Caslo,

Ælius takes up arms against the emperor.

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Cafło, his high steward, losing all patience at his inflexibility, began to form a conspiracy against him and his brother Ras Sella Christos, into which old Simeon the abuna was easily drawn.

They agreed that the latter should thunder out a fresh excommunication against all who maintained the two natures of Christ; at which the emperor was so provoked, that he instantly ordered him to take it off, on pain of losing his head. The pusillanimous prelate was obliged to obey; but the other three, finding no other way to compass their end, marched directly to the new palace built by father Pays, where the emperor then was, and, leaving their men at the door, went up stairs directly to him, with a full resolution to take away his life. Susneus, who was just before apprised of their design by a kinswoman, named Ileamata, saw them enter the chamber, without betraying either fear or mistrust; but rising from his seat, as it were to walk, laid his hand, in a familiar manner, on Ælius's sword, and went with him to the stair-case that led to the top of the house. The others followed him, thinking that a more proper place to execute their design; but, the door being purposely contrived by that Jesuit to shut with a spring-lock, the king pulling it after him, left them on the outside, and disappointed their treacherous intent, without noise or disturbance [a].

Ælius pursues it with more vigour.

Ælius was, however, so far from being discouraged by this disappointment, or from pursuing his former views, that he issued out an edict, enjoining all the Portuguese, and their adherents, to depart the kingdom of Tigre, and all those that wished well to the Alexandrian church to follow him. At the same time, the abuna published another, in which he excommunicated all the opposers of the Abyssine church, and poured out blessings on the defenders of it, and more especially on Ælius, who had taken up arms in its defence. This benediction, in all probability, encouraged that young and rash nobleman to attack the emperor, who was returning to Dembea at the head of a powerful army, and, in spite of all the earnest prayers and tears of his wife, to run the risque of a battle rather than be reconciled to his sovereign.

Marches against the emperor.

He was indeed strongly prepossessed by those of his party, that, if he bent his whole force against his father-in-law, he could hardly fail of gaining the victory, because part of

[a] Pays, apud Tellez, lib. iv. cap. 14. Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 10. n. 54.

the

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the emperor's commanders, who disliked his measures, would be easily induced to abandon him. Flushed with those hopes, and impatient to put an end to the war, he rode up directly towards the emperor, accompanied with only six or seven volunteers, and, marching sternly through the ranks, asked aloud, "Where is the emperor?" In this manner did he pass through them unmolested quite to the emperor's tent, near which stood posted a battalion of troops, who knew nothing of his design; between whom and him a scuffle arose, in which he was knocked on the head with a stone; another soldier came and run him through, and, having cut off his head, carried it to the emperor. His few followers were immediately cut in pieces; at sight of which catastrophe, his army betook themselves to flight, but were pursued with great slaughter, till the emperor commanded a retreat. The old abuna, who had beheld these transactions from an eminence, stood like one thunder-struck, and either had not power to fly, or hoped that his character would have proved a safeguard to him. It did so accordingly for some time, and the imperialists passed by him without any notice or insult, till at length a valiant catholic, as one of their authors styles him, laid him prostrate on the ground with a stroke of his lance. Some others of the revolters underwent the same fate, particularly the eunuch Caslo, whose head, with those of Ælius, and the abuna, were exposed to public view. These examples put an effectual end to the rebellion, and gave Susneus a breathing-time to resume his religious projects in favour of the church of Rome.

The abuna murdered.

They were at this time in great expectation of the patriarch from Rome, whom that monarch had desired the pope to send to assist him in completing the good work, which he looked upon now as more likely than ever to succeed to both their wishes. He had by this time suppressed the Agaus, and reconciled them so far to Christianity, that they had agreed that father Pays, who had done them some signal services, and obtained for them some better terms from the emperor than they could otherwise have hoped for, should come among and instruct them; but as that father was more usefully employed at court, they accepted of father Fr. Antony de Angelis in his stead. The emperor had likewise taken care to secure an easy entrance to the Jesuits that should come from Europe, and more particularly for the promised patriarch, by obliging the basha of Swakem, by dint of presents, to let them go to and from Fremona unmolested. Accordingly two of them arrived

The Agaus converted.

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arrived from Goa, as forerunners of the patriarch Mendez; but, by reaſon of the badneſs of the roads, and great rains, were obliged to winter at the monaſtery of Fremona. Their names were James de Mattos, a Portugueſe, and Anthony Bruno, a Sicilian; the former met with a gracious reception at court the ſummer following, and the other ſtaid at Fremona, to ſupply the place of father Laurence, who died about that time. The emperor growing ſtill more zealous, iſſued out a proclamation againſt the obſervation of the ſabbath, or ſeventh day, which cauſed a freſh ferment, and ſome ſevere expoſtulations to be conveyed to him by an anonymous hand. Notwithſtanding which, he ordered it to be followed by a ſecond; by which he obliged his ſubjects to work on Saturdays, under the forfeiture of a piece of cloth, worth a crown, for the firſt, and confiſcation of all for the ſecond offence; and this laſt occaſioned a new revolt, which was like to have had fatal conſequences, and to have unhinged all his projects [b].

A proclamation againſt the Abyſſines.

It was raiſed by Jonael, viceroy of Bagameder, one of the greateſt men in the empire, who had publiſhed that proclamation, not ſo much out of obedience to the emperor, as with a view of ſtirring up the people to a general rebellion; ſo that, by the latter end of the ſame year, he found himſelf at the head of a conſiderable body, who followed him to ſome of the high mountains on the frontiers, where he was to be joined by the Gallas, whom he had engaged to come to his aſſiſtance. The emperor, perplexed and exaſperated at the many obſtacles laid in his way, reſolved to have recourſe to ſevere means, and cauſed ſome malcontents to be beheaded, others hanged, and others baniſhed; examples which, however, rather heightened than allayed the general diſcontent, inſomuch, that many noble perſons, of both ſexes, ſome of them his near relations, beſought him with tears, that he would not expoſe his empire to the danger of a general revolt, but rather take pity of thoſe multitudes of his ſubjects, who offended more through ignorance than wilfulneſs. He grew ſo much the warmer at their intreaties, as he found ſo great a number of them in the ſame mind. To give them, therefore, ſuch an anſwer as ſhould, he thought, at once confirm the unſteady, and deter the obſtinate, he convened the chiefs of his council and army, and ſuch other

[b] Tellez, lib. iv. cap. 20. Ludolph. lib. iii. cap. 10. n. 65, & ſeq.

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learned priests and monks as followed the court, and harangued them in a set speech. He upbraided them with having deprived the late Za-Denghil of his life and crown, for having forsaken the Alexandrian faith, and embraced that of the Portuguese: he reminded them, that when he himself came to the crown, after the defeat of the late Jaacob, instead of using any severity against them, he had forgiven them all; in return for which lenity he had met with nothing but seditions and revolts, under pretence of his introducing innovations into the Abyssinian church, when, in fact, he was only reforming it; seeing he affirmed no more than they all did, that Christ our Lord was perfect God and perfect man; which he could not be, unless he was invested with the human as well as with the divine nature; which two natures being distinct from each other, it necessarily followed, that they both must be hypostatically united in him: this, he said, was not a forsaking, but professing the true religion. As to his forbidding the observance of the seventh day, he declared he had done it, because he judged it unbecoming a Christian to observe the Jewish sabbath; that these he firmly believed, not out of regard to the Portuguese, but because they were the genuine decrees of the Chalcedonian council, confirmed by the practice of all Christian churches from the time of the apostles; for which, he added, he was ready to lay down his life, if there was occasion, but hoped that would rather prove the fate of his oppofers.

The emperor's speech to his nobles.

He had scarce done speaking, when a letter was brought to him from the revolted Jonael; in which, we are told, that viceroy insisted upon very high terms, and particularly on the total expulsion of the Jesuits. The emperor was not long debating about it; but, resolving to answer him sword in hand, marched at the head of his choicest troops directly towards him. Finding the mountains, on which he was posted, too difficult of access, he encamped about the foot of them, not doubting but some of the revolters would come quickly down to him, as they actually did, and in such numbers, that Jonael, finding himself in a great measure abandoned, fled to the Gallas, his confederates, where, instead of a refuge, he met with his death; they having been bribed by the emperor to dispatch him.

Another revolt quelled in Gojam.

In the course of the same year, another revolt was quelled in the frontiers of the kingdom of Gojam, which had been raised on the same account, at the instigation of the monks and Batavis, a kind of hermits, of the kingdom of Damot. These, Ras Sella Christos at first endeavoured to reduce

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reduce by fair means; but, upon their answering him, that they would not submit, unless he delivered to them the books translated by the Latin fathers, to be committed to the flames, and the writers to be hanged, he attacked them with such fury, that above three thousand of them were cut in pieces, and, amongst them, one hundred and eighty-eight out of four hundred of those monks, after a most desperate defence. All this while, father Pays had been employed in building a sumptuous church of square stone, after the European manner, near the lake of Dembea. This structure had a very stately arch over the high altar, supported by curious columns, and six others of the Ionic order supported the frontispiece; over which was a high steeple for the bells. A winding stair-case led to the top, which was flat, and fenced by a parapet; whence there was a delightful prospect over the lake and adjacent plains. The building being now finished, the emperor went two days journey to view it, and entered it barefooted, and left a very considerable present at his departure [c].

Susneus abjures the Abyssine, and embraces the Roman church.

Having by this time quelled the most considerable revolts, he thought fit, the following year, to make a public profession of his religion; an act which he had still delayed, partly on account of those frequent seditions, and partly through his reluctance to cast off all his wives and concubines, except his empress; without which reformation the fathers refused to admit him into their church. He was at length prevailed upon to comply: he publicly abjured the Alexandrine church, made a general confession of his sins, in the Romish form, at the feet of father Pays, and afterwards a public profession of his faith in terms to this effect: "He renounced all obedience and communion with the Alexandrian see, and acknowleged that of Rome alone; the pope of which was the only true successor of St. Peter, the chief of the apostles; to whose authority he entirely submitted, fully persuaded that he is incapable of erring in any points, either of faith or practice." This confession and submission was afterwards published at full length through most parts of the empire, and concluded with an exhortation to his good subjects to follow his example [d]. His expectation of the new patri-

[c] Tellez, lib. iv. cap. 22. Ludolph, ubi supra, p. 71, & seq.
[d] Tellez, ibid. cap. 27, & seq. Ludolph, ubi supra, & Comment. p. 509, & seq. Alvarez, cap. 59. Lobo, Relat. i. p. 14. & seq. Le Grand. ibid. p 309, 498, & alib.

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archʼs arrival was the prevailing motive which hastened his recantation, and induced him, though much against his will, to discard all his wives and concubines, together with their children; not doubting but that many of his nobles and courtiers would follow his example.

A new revolt raised. But though some of them actually did, yet the far greater number still expressed a public dislike against all his measures. A new insurrection was raised by the son of Gabrael; which was, however, soon quelled by the artful Sella Christos. This general marched against him, and forced him to retire into some of the most inaccessible mountains of the kingdom of Sheva, or Xaoa; where, unable to follow him, he bribed some of the Gallas, under pretence of siding with him, to apprehend and send him either alive or dead. They chose the latter part of the alternative, and dispatched him with such zeal and fury with their clubs, that they could only send his jaw-bone and beard, which was all that remained of him unbroken. Ras Sella Christos, however, ventured over the mountains with some of his expert climbers, and there found the treasure which had belonged to the revolters, which he distributed among his troops, reserving to himself only some rich utensils, of which they had plundered a church, with a design to restore them to it. The misfortune was, that some of his enemies had by this time so far misrepresented him to the emperor, that, when the news of his victory was brought to him, instead of rewarding or commending him for it, he stripped him of his viceroyship of Gojam; and though he quickly after restored him, yet his jealousy still increased, and proved the occasion of farther disasters [c].

Father Pays dies. In the course of this year, father Pays, who had the greatest hand in bringing the emperor over to the Roman church, ended his days in the monastery of Gorgorra, after having spent nineteen years in that mission, besides his seven years captivity in Arabia. He was soon followed by another of his society, named Antony de Angelis, who had been sent in his stead to convert the Agaus, and was famous for his skill in the Amharan, or court-language. We mention them more particularly, as they had lived so long, and travelled through so great a part of the empire; and as it is from the relations they have left behind of the Abyssinian affairs, that father Tellez hath taken the greatest part of the transactions of this epocha.

[c] Tellez, ubi supra, cap. 31. Ludolph, et al. ubi supra.

These

These were soon after succeeded by four others, among whom the chief was father Emanuel d'Almeyda. The other three were called Emanuel Barradas, Lewis Cardeyra, and Francis Carvalho, all of whom had embarked at Goa, in an Indian vessel, and in the month of November the same year, after many difficulties and hazards, arrived at Suagem on the 4th of the following December, where they procured a kind reception from the Turkish bashaw. From thence they departed for Fremona, where they arrived about the beginning of next February, accompanied by some others of that society, who had joined them in the way. There they staid till they received orders from the emperor to proceed to Dembea, where the court then was; to which they were soon after conveyed by a very strong escorte, and where they met with a most gracious reception from that monarch.

Succeeded by four other Jesuits.

A.D. 1623.

A.D. 1624.

Mean while, the news of the emperor's abjuration, profession, and extraordinary zeal, had reached the courts of Rome and Madrid, and encouraged them to send the patriarch whom he had so earnestly requested of them in his former letters. The person pitched upon was Alphonso Mendez, a Jesuit, and doctor of divinity, a person every way qualified for such an expedition: to supply his place, in case of death, as well as for the greater grandeur and pomp, they appointed him two successors; the first of whom was father James Seco, with the title of bishop of Nice, and the other father John de Rocha, titular bishop of Hierapolis. All three having been consecrated for that purpose, the foregoing year, in the cathedral of Lisbon, set sail immediately for Goa, with seventeen others of the same society. We shall not enter into a detail of their voyage thither, and from thence to Fremona, but only observe that the bishop of Nice died on the way, whilst the patriarch and his retinue continued their route thither through the kingdom of Dancali, joining to the frontiers of that of Angot, and, after a tedious and fatiguing journey, arrived safely, with his company, at the monastery of Fremona, on the 21st of June of the year 1624[f].

Alfonso Mendez sent patriarch into Abyssinia.

The winter, in that country, begins on that day of this month, and ends on the same day in September; so that he was obliged to stay there till October following, on account of the dangerous travelling through Tigre and Dembea at that season, occasioned by the corruption of the air,

[f] Tellez, ubi supra, cap. 35, & seq. Ludolph. ubi supra, cap. 11. Lobo, Relat. i. p. 27, & seq. Le Grand, & al.

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and noxious vapours, which are frequently fatal to the inhabitants, and much more so to strangers. He set out in October for the new monastery at Gorgorra, on the lake of Dembea, and, during his short stay there, ordained conditionally about twenty monkish converts, and allowed such of them as had wives to keep them, to prevent the want of curates.

Mendez's grand reception at court.

When he went to wait upon the emperor for the first time, in his pontifical habit, he was met about half a league from the imperial camp by the grandees and nobles of the court, at the head of fifteen or sixteen thousand armed men, cavalry and infantry, in their best attire, the horses richly caparisoned, and the whole procession making a magnificent show. The horsemen first advancing, saluted the patriarch; then, opening to the right and left, received him in their centre, with the sound of trumpets, kettle-drums, and other warlike instruments, and with loud shouts and acclamations. A stately pavilion having been reared for him, he went in to put on his cope and mitre; at his coming out he was mounted on a stately pyed horse, with rich caparisons, which had been sent to him from the emperor; a sumptuous canopy was held up over him by six viceroys; Ras Sella Christos leading his horse by the bridle, and variety of vocal and instrumental music marching before him. At his entrance into the church, he was saluted by the discharge of some cannon, and all the small-arms of the horse and foot. The emperor was seated on his throne in the chancel, magnificently clothed, with the crown on his head: a hymn, called the Benedictus, or *Song of Zachary*, was sung by the best voices; the patriarch was conducted to the emperor, who tenderly embraced him; after which embrace, he went up to the altar, and made a short speech, with which his majesty was highly pleased; and then they all withdrew in the same august procession [g].

First audience.

At his first audience with the emperor, in which he was seated on a chair equal with the throne, they appointed the 11th of February of the following year, as the day on which that monarch, and all his nobles, clergy, and laity, were to make their public submission, and take the solemn oaths of obedience to the church and see of Rome. This day being come, the palace being magnificently adorned, and the emperor, his eldest son Basilides, his brother's re-

[g] Tellez, ubi supra, lib. v. cap. 2, & seq. Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 11. n. 17, & seq.

lations,

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lations, viceroys, governors, and officers, clothed in the richeſt apparel, the patriarch in his pontificals entered the grand hall; and being ſeated on his chair, at the emperor's left hand, began the ceremony with an elaborate diſcourſe on the ſupremacy of the church and pontiff of Rome, intermixed with ſevere reflections on the paſt ages, in which the Abyſſinian monarchs had revolted from their allegiance to him: but now the time was come, he ſaid, in which they were again to be reduced and re-united to their great and only paſtor and fold, and make amends for the defection of their anceſtors. This ſpeech was, by the emperor's orders, anſwered by Melcha Chriſtos, his couſin and high lord ſteward, who made great encomiums on the Portugueſe, with a declaration that it was his preſent majeſty's ſincere intention to perform all his promiſes and obligations to the pope of Rome. The patriarch then ordered the holy goſpel to be delivered to the emperor; upon which, falling upon his knees, he took the oath of ſupremacy to the pope, in words to this effect: "We, ſoltan Segued, emperor of Ethiopia, acknowlege and confeſs, that St. Peter, the chief of the apoſtles, hath been appointed by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, head of the whole Chriſtian church; and that he gave him plenary power and authority over the whole world, when he ſaid to him, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c." and when, on another occaſion, he commanded him to feed his ſheep. And we likewiſe believe, that the pope of Rome, duly elected, is the true ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and is inveſted with the ſame dignity and power over the whole Chriſtian church. Wherefore, we do here promiſe and ſwear to our lord and holy father Urban VIII. and to his ſucceſſors, a true and ſincere obedience, moſt humbly laying our perſon and empire at his feet. So help us God and his holy goſpels [h]."

Emperor ſweare ſubmiſſion to the pope.

His example was followed by prince Baſilides, his eldeſt ſon, and by all the other princes of the blood, as well as all the other viceroys and grandees, and the whole clergy and laity of the empire. The ceremony was cloſed with a ſpeech by Ras Sella Chriſtos, which he pronounced, with his ſword drawn in his hand, to this effect: "What is paſt, is paſt; as for thoſe who ſhall be deficient in their duty, let this (ſword) be their puniſhment." After this declaration, they all took the oaths to prince Baſilides, as

Taken by his heirs, nobles, &c.

[h] Tellez, lib. v. cap. 3, & ſeq. Ludolph, ubi ſupra.

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the immediate heir to the crown; upon which occasion, the same Ras Sella Christos, like a true son of the Roman church, to use father Tellez's own words, tacked to his oath a condition worthy of his noble heart and zeal for Christianity, in words to this effect: "I swear and promise to acknowlege him (the prince Basilides) as the lawful heir and successor of his present majesty, and to obey him like a faithful subject as long as he shall protect, favour, and maintain, the true catholic faith; otherwise, to become his first and most irreconcileable enemy [1]."

Ras Sella Christos' bold declaration.

This bold declaration, which neither the emperor nor his presumptive heir thought proper to take notice of at present, was so far from inspiring that monarch with a more favourable opinion of him, that it rather inflamed his jealousy, and much more that of young Basilides; so that, instead of proving of any advantage to the Roman church and her missionaries, it rather accelerated their ruin and subversion, as the sequel will soon shew.

A proclamation for re-ordination.

This grand ceremony was immediately followed by a proclamation, expressly forbidding the Abyssine clergy, monks, and priests, to perform any priestly functions till they were previously examined and approved by the patriarch; there being some reason to doubt whether they had been lawfully examined. What was still more insupportable, another edict was issued out, expressly enjoining all the subjects of the empire to embrace the Roman faith on pain of death, and to conform in all the injunctions of that church, with respect to the keeping of Lent, Easter, &c. By this last, all the ladies of the court were likewise obliged to go and take the oaths of supremacy above mentioned; so that there seemed now to be nothing wanting to complete the wishes of the prince and his missionaries. They found, however, a greater obstacle than they imagined from the clergy and laity, and especially the monks, whom neither threats nor punishments could deter, nor fair promises and caresses entice into a compliance with the edict, which drove them away into the mountainous parts for refuge.

The emperor settles great revenues on the patriarch.

Whilst the patriarch and his agents were carrying on these forced conversions with a high hand, the emperor was no less solicitous to settle them at their ease. He built Mendez a good house, and gave him lands for his maintenance, on the borders of Dembea and Bagameder, adding a seminary for sixty Abyssinian and Portuguese

[1] Tellez, & al. ubi supra.

youths,

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youths, to be instructed in both languages, and in the Roman faith: besides these, he caused other houses to be built in several parts of the empire, for the residence of the missionaries, and erected another edifice near the camp of Dancas, where he resided usually in the winter, that the patriarch might be always nigh his person, and preach to him every Sunday on such topics as were most likely to reconcile his subjects to the Romish church: yet all these pains and precautions brought as few sincere proselytes into it as their other severities. Still the people found something to dislike in their worship; such as kneeling at church, fixed altars, crucifixes, and auricular confession; particularly the structure of their churches, one of which was built at Gorgoras, of lime and stone, with a stately roof, and a great deal of carving in it and in the choir and vestry, all which appeared to them strange and irregular. Two missionaries, who had made a great number of converts in the province of Cegued, in the extreme parts of the kingdom of Tigre, were massacred by that people: soon after which murder, that kingdom was visited with a plague of locusts, which did such damage, that above five thousand families were obliged to seek for sustenance in other provinces. This judgment was attributed by the Portuguese to the murder of the two missionaries above mentioned; and by the Abyssinians, to the persecutions raised against them by the Romanists.

The people dislike the popish worship.

Kill two of their priests.

In the following year, Gojam was over-run with the neighbouring Gallas, where among other cruelties and ravages, they surprised and murdered the viceroy Buco. They would probably have done more mischief, had not Ras Sella Christos come upon them suddenly, and obliged them to re-cross the Nile in the dead of night, and return to their own mountains. Next year, in which five more Jesuits, with some difficulty, arrived at Fremona, a new sedition was excited by one of the emperor's sons-in-law, named Tekla Guergis, or Georgios, then viceroy of Tigre, in which he was joined by two famous nobles, Gebra Marjam, and John Acayo. These immediately declared for the Alexandrian church, in opposition to that of Rome. To shew they were in earnest, they ordered some crucifixes, rosaries, beads, and other popish trinkets, to be thrown into the fire; and one of the new-ordained priests, whom the Jesuits had recommended to be the viceroy's chaplain, to be stripped of his priestly dress, and strangled. Against him the emperor sent Kebaxos, or Keba Christos, who had lately been viceroy of that kingdom,

A.D. 1627.

The Gallas over-run Gojam.

Tekla Guergis raises a revolt.

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dom, at the head of five hundred targeteers, one hundred horse, and one thousand men, whom he drew out of Gojam: with these troops he marched against the revolters so expeditiously, that though they were above a hundred leagues from them, he overtook and defeated them, and put an end to the rebellion in less than a month. Tekla Guergis, the ringleader, being taken, and sent prisoner to the imperial court, was condemned by the emperor, not only to lose his life, but to be hanged, like a common malefactor, at the head of his camp. What must appear still more rigorous, he ordered a sister of his to undergo the same shameful death, for having, as he pretended, favoured that revolt underhand; and this, in spite of all the prayers and entreaties of his court, of both sexes, in her behalf, it being, till then, an unheard-of thing in Ethiopia to condemn a woman, especially a lady of rank, to such a death. No wonder if the whole court was seized with dread and horror at such an unusual instance of inflexibility.

By this time the Romish religion seemed to have reached the highest pitch of success that it ever had in this country. Besides nineteen Jesuits, many natives had been ordained by the patriarch, and there was a prodigious number of converts. They were now laying the foundation for a new cathedral; other churches were beautified and ornamented in the Romish way. The proud patriarch had got such an ascendant over the monarch, that he was above paying any regard to the laws and customs of the country, assuming to himself an authority vastly superior to what any of their abunas had ever pretended, or dared to have aimed at: he thundered out the most dreadful excommunications, for the least offences, against even some of the chief officers of the court, and could hardly be prevailed upon by the sovereign to recall them. An ieege, or chief of the monks, a man of great sanctity, dying in the Abyssinian faith, had been buried at the foot of the altar of their church. Mendez ordered his body to be taken up, and thrown on a dunghill; insomuch, that the Abyssinians could not forbear complaining aloud, that the Portuguese exercised their cruelties and resentment, not only against the living but against the dead [k].

A new cathedral built by the patriarch.

Whilst every thing seemed to succeed, according to their wishes, the seeds of all the disasters that befel them soon after, were sowing underhand by Melcha Christos, a rank schismatic, as Tellez styles him; but, in good truth, an enemy to all Roman innovations; one who

[k] Tellez ubi supra, cap. 14, & seq.

plainly

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plainly foresaw how impossible it would be to stop their progress, as long as two such powerful friends as the emperor and his brother Ras Sella Christos, went so unanimously hand in hand to support them; so that there could be no other means found to stop the career of the former, but by sowing the seeds of jealousy between the latter (M). We have already taken notice of the one being deprived of his viceroyship of Gojam, the best and richest in the whole empire, by the other; and this it was that laid the foundation for all the disturbances and revolts which we are now going to relate.

A.D.1629. One of the first of these seditions was raised in the course of the next year among the Agaus of Bagameder, who dwell among some of the highest mountains in the empire. Against these the emperor marched at the head of twenty-five thousand foot and two thousand horse; but attacking them too rashly among their high rocks, was repulsed with great loss. He next sent another army against them, under the command of his brother Ras Sella Christos, who, though lately stripped of his government and rich territories, readily obeyed; and, cutting off such of them as had ventured down from the mountains, prevented the rest from doing any more mischief. He was soon after obliged to march into the kingdom of Amhara, where another revolt had been raised by one Lacu Mariam, whom he attacked so suddenly, that the greatest part of his followers were either slain, or perished in their flight. This was no sooner quelled than another began on the mountains of Lasta; whither the emperor dispatched Keba Christos, viceroy of Tigre; who, venturing too far with

The Agaus revolt.

Defeated.

A new revolt quelled.

Keba Christos slain.

(M) This was done by inspiring the emperor with a strong suspicion that there was a private understanding between the Portuguese and Ras Sella Christos; and, that notwithstanding the specious pretences of gratitude and zeal for him and his successor, they had united their interests with no other view than to deprive him and Basilides of the crown. To this end, they assured his majesty, that the patriarch and his missionaries had sent pressing instances into Europe for a fresh supply of forces and artillery; and that they only waited for their arrival before they ventured to declare for that false brother of his; who, on his part, had engaged to make them such large concessions, as he well knew could not fail of engaging that haughty and ambitious nation to his interest (1).

(1) Tellez, Ludolph, & al. supra citat.

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his small force, was slain by those mountaineers, and his men put to the rout. About the same time the Gallas made a fresh irruption into the kingdom of Gojam, whom Zegur Egzi, lieutenant to Ras Sella Christos, venturing to oppose with too small a force, was himself slain, and his troops utterly defeated. By the death of these two last commanders, the Romish religion lost two of its principal props, next to the emperor and his brother: these two last coming at length to an open rupture, soon occasioned an extraordinary change. Those who disapproved of that monarch's measures in favour of it, ceased not filling his mind with fears and jealousies, both against him and the Portuguese; so that matters quickly put on a different face. Those who had, for fear of punishment, complied with his edict, and embraced the new religion, only conceived the greater dislike to it, and missed no opportunity of shewing it [a], whilst the patriarch was still giving them fresh occasions of disgust.

Zegur Egzi slain.

Mendez tries a woman for a witch.

Besides his excommunications, and other violent proceedings, he had lately taken it into his head to have a woman arrested and punished for a witch; to the general dissatisfaction of the people, who abhor the supposition of any such contract between men and devils, as implying two Gods, or first causes; one of good, the other of evil. It is not unlikely that the patriarch intended to introduce the inquisition, with other innovations, among them; witches and wizards commonly affording a plentiful, as was as gainful, exercise, to the greedy inquisitors. However that be, he was obliged to let the woman go unpunished.

A lewd princess opposes the papists.

He behaved, indeed, much more suitably to his character with regard to one of the emperor's daughters, a lewd princess, who had two husbands living, yet cohabited with a third in open adultery, and was desirous to be married to him. She solicited the patriarch for some time in the most pressing manner, to grant her a dispensation; which he as strenuously refusing, exasperated her to such a degree, that, to be revenged of him, she employed all her influence to do him ill offices. Thus both he and his church became daily more odious to the people; and the emperor, who in this last case acted so much below the character of a pious prince, with respect to his vicious daughter, lost daily more and more the

[a] Tellez, ibid. cap. 15, & seq. Ludolph, & al. ubi supra.

love

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love and esteem of his subjects, and gave them new occasion and encouragement for fresh revolts.

Next year, the revolters in the kingdom of Amhara took up arms again, and having made choice of another chief, to whom they gave the title of viceroy, sent him, at the head of a powerful body, to possess himself of the kingdom of Tigre. Unfortunately for him, he kept himself so little upon his guard, that he was surprised by the viceroy of that province, as he was carousing on a Saturday, which they still observed as the sabbath, and entirely defeated, with the loss of four thousand men and thirty-two pair of kettle-drums. About the same time another party of the Agaus was totally cut off on the mountains by Ras Sella Christos; yet did not this success, nor his other late services, diminish in the least the suspicion which the emperor entertained against him. Towards the latter end of the year arrived a new bishop of Nice from Goa, in the room of James Seco, who died at sea in his way hither. This new prelate was called Don Apollinaris d'Almeyda; and arriving at Fremona about the middle of August, the winter of Abyssinia, could not come to court till that season was over; but upon his reaching the imperial camp on the 16th of December, he met with a most gracious reception; and after a fortnight's stay, retired to the patriarch's palace at Depsau, four leagues distant from Dencaz [b].

A.D.1630.

A new revolt quelled.

The Agaus defeated.

In the succeeding year, the emperor having sent the new viceroy of Gojam, named Serca Christos, with a small army, to convoy the tribute of gold that was coming from the kingdom of Enarea (N), and secure it against the Gaffates; as soon as he entered the territories of those freebooters, and saw them covered with multitudes of large cattle, he set aside the thoughts of escorting the tribute, of

Serca Christos raises a new sedition.

[b] Vide Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 14. & al. supra citat.

(N) These Gaffates spread themselves along the banks of the Nile, on the south side of the empire, between the kingdoms of Gojam and Damot, and their country so abounds with grass, that they breed an innumerable multitude of black cattle; which being of a large size, and very fat and fleshy, bear a great price through all the neighbouring kingdoms and provinces; so that we need not wonder at the preference which this revolted viceroy gave to one hundred thousand of them, before one thousand ounces of gold (1).

(1) Tellez, Ludolph, Lobo, & al. supra citat.

which

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which he knew he had no share, and seized upon such a large number of their cows, as he judged would yield him a much richer booty. Accordingly he drove near one hundred thousand of them towards Dancaz. The emperor, highly incensed at this insult, sent him express orders to restore the cattle to the owners, and to surrender himself prisoner; but he, instead of obeying, issued out a proclamation, declaring prince Basilides emperor, and commanding all that embraced the Romish faith to abjure it out of hand, and return to that of Alexandria. This step was taken without the young prince's consent, or even knowlege; and no less exasperated him, than it provoked his father, insomuch, that having obtained the emperor's leave, he marched directly against him at the head of his army. The rebel was no sooner apprised of his approach, than he sent an express to a young prince of the race of some of the ancient emperors, inviting him to come and accept of the crown, and assist him in restoring the old Abyssinian church, and driving all the Jesuits and Portuguese out of the empire; assuring him, that he could not fail of being supported in it by all the monks, and the far greater part of the grandees and people.

This prince, whose name was Melcha Christos, readily accepted the offer; and raised some forces, in order, if possible, to join those of Serca Christos. In the mean time he caused a manifesto to be published, importing, that he did not take up arms with any intent of seizing on the sovereign power, but only to extirpate the Romish religion, and restore the old Alexandrian faith through the empire. This declaration failed not to draw great numbers of monks, and other people who had retired into the mountains, to his party: but upon information that young Basilides was advancing towards Serca Christos, he thought it more expedient to fortify himself among those almost inaccessible rocks, and wait for a more favourable opportunity. On the other hand, the emperor seeing himself threatened by those two revolts in different parts of his dominions, was obliged to send for his brother, and be reconciled to him, in order to advise with him what course to take for their reduction. Ras Sella Christos counselled him to send a new reinforcement to his son, together with express orders to go and attack the rebel Serca Christos; of which commission he acquitted himself with such diligence and success, that the rebel was forced to retire with all speed over the Nile. The prince still pursuing, obliged him to come to an engagement, in which his forces were totally

Serca Christos defeated by Basilides.

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totally routed; upon which he fled to the neighbouring mountains; but before three days were over, he surrendered himself to the victor, by whom he was sent prisoner to the imperial camp, and there bastinadoed to death. Seven of his companions being likewise conducted thither in chains, had their heads cut off. One of his chief officers, who had the boldness to vent his blasphemies, as Tellez styles them, against the church of Rome, as he hung suspended to a hook, had his tongue cut out, and, towards night, was dispatched by a volley of darts [b].

This success encouraged the emperor to march at the head of his whole army against the other revolters, who lay encamped on the high mountains of Lasta; for by this time he was relapsed into his old suspicions against his brother, and obliged him to retire to his own house. He therefore divided his army into three bodies, in order to enter those mountains by as many different ways. He had the good luck at first to surprise and kill some of the revolters; but one of his parties having met with a more warm reception, and been repulsed with great loss, he thought fit to withdraw with more haste than honour, before the rebels had stopped his way through those passes. He had the good fortune to time his retreat so well, that he gained the imperial camp at Dancaz, without any farther damage than the dishonour of leaving the kingdom of Bagameder exposed to the fury and resentment of the revolters; the consequence of which ill-concerted expedition was, that it greatly tarnished his fame, and disheartened his friends, at the same time that it raised the spirits of his enemies. The patriarch was very diligent in making his visitations in the kingdom of Dembea, whilst the new bishop of Nice performed the same functions in other parts, and the Jesuits, in their respective cantons, and all of them so successfully, as to make daily a great number of proselytes: but notwithstanding all these boasted conversions, the Alexandrians gained so much ground at court, that they now made no scruple to tell the emperor, all these disasters were wholly owing to the change of religion he had occasioned in his dominions, and that neither he nor the people must expect peace or tranquility as long as he upheld and promoted the Romish religion; which, how right soever it might be, could never appear so to his subjects, as long as it condemned that in which they had been brought up; that it was next to impossible ever to

[b] Idem ibid. Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 11.

persuade

persuade them that circumcision, or the observance of the sabbath, could be offensive to God, or that the Alexandrian liturgy, calendar of fasts and festivals, ought to give place to that of Rome; that it would therefore be more safe if he would relax his severity in those points, which did in no wise attaint the essentials of Christianity, and grant them a full liberty to go on in their ancient rites and customs, seeing all the efforts of Ras Sella Christos, and his partisans, to the contrary, were chiefly levelled against his and his kingdom's safety [c].

These representations, joined to the danger he was in from the revolters in Lasta, made such an impression on the emperor, that he communicated them to the patriarch, who, on his part, though very loth to relax, yet, at such a juncture, being glad to lower his sails, and rather remit a little than lose all, consented that some small concessions should be made to the people, provided they were not repugnant to the Roman faith. Accordingly the emperor, before he took the field against the revolters, issued out a proclamation in his army, that they should be allowed the use of their old books and rites in the divine service, provided they were revised by the patriarch. 2dly, That they should observe all their festivals according to the old Alexandrian calendar, except that of Easter, and those that immediately depended upon it: and 3dly, That those who cared not to fast on Saturday, should do it on Wednesday. These were indeed very trifling concessions at the best, and consequently such as could neither satisfy the Abyssinian clergy nor laity. But what more surprised the emperor was, that they highly displeased the patriarch himself, who took the liberty to expostulate with him in very unbecoming terms; telling him, that he might as well have given them free liberty to return to their own Alexandrian faith, seeing they would of course take his proclamation in that sense. He went so far as to remind him of the Jewish king Uzziah [d], who was smitten by God with a leprosy for having presumed to infringe on the priestly office; intimating thereby, that it belonged solely to the pope, and to himself as his vicar, to grant such licences. This bold epistle could not but irritate the emperor to a great degree, and make him sensible how much too generous he had ben in his vast concessions to those pretended successors of St. Peter, and what advan-

A.D. 1631.

[c] Tellez, ibid. cap. 26, & seq. Ludolph, ubi supra. [d] Tellez, ubi supra, cap. 19. p. 482, & seq.

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tage they now took of his too great weakness. Nevertheless, as he was at present going on such a dangerous expedition, he contented himself with sending the patriarch a suitable answer, in which, among other things, he reminds him, "That when the Romish religion first began in his dominions, it did not owe its establishment to the preaching of the Jesuits, nor to any miracles they wrought in confirmation of it, nor to the good liking of his subjects, but merely to his own approbation and free will; consequently he could not see that he had given the patriarch any occasion of complaint. This remonstrance did not put an end to the contention between him and the haughty patriarch, whose savage behaviour on this occasion is justly blamed, even by those of his own church, and looked upon as the chief cause of the total expulsion of all the missionaries and Portuguese out of that empire.

The patriarch's strange behaviour.

The emperor once more thought fit to recall his brother Ras Sella Christos to take the command against the Lastan rebels, and, in spite of all his remonstrances, obliged him to go and attack them with only three thousand men. Whether this order was given with a design to sacrifice him to his still corroding jealousy or not, we are ignorant; but that general was presently surrounded by twenty thousand rebels, and, though he defended himself with the utmost bravery, as did also at the same time Keba Christos, viceroy of Bagameder, who lay at a small distance with his forces, yet being abandoned at length by their men in the night, they were both forced to save themselves by flight. This disaster so alarmed the emperor, that he retired to the kingdom of Gojam, whilst the elated revolters were taking their measures to go and make themselves masters of Dancaz, the usual place of his residence; and a great part of his forces were plotting to range themselves under their banner. The fear he was in lest if the rebels seized on his court, the rest of the empire should declare for them, obliged him to try his fortune once more; so that, leaving his baggage behind him, he marched directly towards them, at the head of twenty thousand men [a].

The emperor marches against the rebels.

Being encamped advantageously for the season, which was the beginning of winter, intelligence was brought him by his scouts that the enemy were advancing towards him with twenty-five thousand men, but most of them ill disciplin-

A.D. 1631.

Susneus engages and defeats them.

[a] Tellez, Ludolph, &c. ibid.

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ed and worse armed. They arrived accordingly about noon within sight of his camp; upon which the emperor himself, clapping spurs to his horse, and being followed by the rest of his cavalry, charged the rebels with such fury, that they fled at the very first onset like so many sheep before the wolf, and yielded them a complete victory. Night coming on, many of those mountaineers, endeavouring to save themselves by flight, were dashed in pieces among the rocks; the rest were either slain or taken.

This signal defeat, which filled the Portuguese with joy and triumph, and made them imagine now that none would be so bold as to oppose the progress of their religion, had, however, a quite contrary effect, as it drove both the Alexandrians and Imperialists into the utmost consternation. The chief officers of the court, in particular, accompanied the emperor in a mournful guise to the field of battle, and there addressed themselves to him in words to this effect[f]. "You see here many thousands of your subjects slain before your eyes, and by your arms; they were neither Mohammedans nor Gentiles, nor enemies of the Christian name, but unhappy vassals of your's, and our relations; so that whether you conquer or be conquered, you still are sure to sheath your sword in your own bowels. Those who took up arms against you, did not act out of any dislike to your person or government, but in defence of their ancient religion, which you would force them to renounce, and exchange for one to which they can by no means be persuaded to conform. What a deal of bloodshed hath this unhappy change already caused, and what a deal more it is likely to cause, unless you will suffer them to continue in that old way of worship which they received from their ancestors! Without this we shall never enjoy any rest, and you will find yourself shortly without empire or subjects. Our worst enemies, the Gallas and Turks, against whom your arms might have been more successfully and gloriously employed, hate and despise us still more, and brand us with the name of renegados, for having thus deviated from our ancient faith."

His officers pathetic remonstrance to him.

This pathetic remonstrance made so much the deeper impression on the emperor's mind, as he was by this time much worn with age, fatigues, frequent wars, and revolts,

[f] Tellez, ibid. cap. 32, p. 488, & seq. Ludolph. lib. iii. cap. 12. not. 13, & seq.

to

to ſay nothing of his ſuſpicions againſt his brother and all the Portugueſe; but what ſtill helped to ſink it ſtill deeper, the prince, his ſon, the empreſs, and all the grandees of his court, were daily making preſſing inſtances to him to reſtore the old religion, inſomuch that he fell into a deep melancholy, and took to his bed. The courtiers took that opportunity to publiſh an edict in his name, that the people might all return to the ancient faith, or embrace which church they liked beſt. The patriarch failed not, according to cuſtom, to cenſure this conduct in the ſevereſt terms, and to exhort him to make a better advantage of the victory which God had granted to him, and to finiſh what he had ſo nobly begun. The emperor anſwered, that he had done all that was in his power, till he ſaw himſelf on the brink of being abandoned by all his ſubjects; and, without any farther regard to his cenſures or the ſolicitations of the biſhop and his Jeſuits, ſuffered the proclamation to come forth to this effect: "Hear ye, hear: we gave you this faith becauſe we believed it good; but as numbers have loſt their lives on account of it, namely, Elus, Ælius or Julius Gabrael, Tekla, Gerguis, Serca Chriſtos, and now lately the Laſtan mountaineers, we do now reſtore to you the faith of your forefathers. The former clergy may return to their churches, perform divine ſervice after their ancient ritual, reſtore their tabots (ſmall portable altars) and other branches of their function. Farewel, and do ye rejoice."

Iſſues out a proclamation for liberty of conſcience.

This edict cauſed inexpreſſible joy among all the monks and prieſts, and alſo the army and laity. Theſe laſt expreſſed it more particularly by flinging the beads, and other popiſh trinkets which the miſſionaries had given them, into the fire. The clergy began to perform their functions as uſual, and to adminiſter the communion in both kinds. The ceremony of circumciſion, together with that of the general ablution on the feſtival of Epiphany, by the Portugueſe falſly ſtyled rebaptiſms[s], were renewed every where with extraordinary pomp and exultation; a ſhort hymn having been compoſed on that occaſion, and ſung at the revival of the old worſhip, to this effect:

Canticle ſung in memory of it.

The Ethiopian ſheep are now delivered
From weſtern wolves, by the doctrine of the apoſtle St. Mark,
And of Cyril, the two pillars of the Alexandrian church.

[s] Ludolph, ubi ſupra.

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Rejoice and be glad, and sing hallelujahs;
Ethiopia hath escaped from the wolves of the West [h].

Though the proclamation restored the Abyssinian church to its former state, yet it did not exclude the Roman priests from the free exercise of their own. But by this time the latter were become so odious through the whole empire, and the emperor so little able, if he had been still inclined, to support them, as he was now languishing under a deep melancholy and a broken constitution, that the Abyssinian clergy made no difficulty to seize on several of their new churches. The patriarch tried once more to rouse the drooping zeal of the desponding monarch, by representing to him, that his forbearance and inactivity would bring a civil war into his dominions, between the Alexandrians and the Romanists. An indiscreet and ill-timed insinuation this at such a juncture! but to which he could only answer, "What can I do? I, who have now neither empire nor authority left." His brother, Ras Sella Christos, wrote a pressing letter to him, which is still preserved by the Portuguese writers; but which, if genuine, shews more zeal and prejudice than either reasoning or even common sense [i].

A.D. 1633. *Death.* The emperor, unable to support himself longer under such a load and variety of diseases and calamities, expired on the 16th of September of the same year, in the sixty-first of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign, not without some suspicion of having been dispatched before his time by poison; though by what appears from all accounts we have from thence, he really died of excess of grief and an exhausted constitution, broken by a long series of rebellions, wars, and disasters which followed him closely during his whole reign; which might have proved glorious and prosperous, had the missionaries never set foot within his dominions. He died, we are told, in the Romish faith, and still kept two of those fathers about him to his dying hour. His body was buried with great pomp in the church of Ganeta Jesu, about four leagues from Dancaz, the place where he usually resided.

Funeral.

Succeeded by Basilides. Basilides, or Faciladas, his eldest son, succeeded him, and took the name of Soltan Segued. From the very beginning of his reign he shewed himself a mortal enemy to the church of Rome, to her missionaries, and to all her

[h] Vide Ludolph, ubi supra, num. 51, Lobo, &c.

[i] Tellez, Ludolph,

friends

friends and converts. The very first person on whom he wreaked his resentment, was his uncle Ras Sella Christos, whom he stripped of his lands and dignities, and ordered to be conducted into banishment, in chains, to the kingdom of Samen, or Comen, where he lived like a common criminal under a guard; which severe treatment was probably less owing to the extraordinary zeal which he had always shewn for that church than for the threatening words he uttered as he was taking the oath of allegiance to his new sovereign. Several other great men underwent the same banishment; particularly Azag Tino, the late emperor's secretary, and the princess Vatatta Georgissa, his first cousin: others were put to death for having spoken too vehemently against the Alexandrian church, and called that faith the religion of dogs. The fathers Mattos and Giroko, two Jesuits who had continued with the emperor till his death, were ordered to depart from Dancaz, and repair to Ganeta Jesu, whence they were sent with eight more out of the monastery of Gorgorra to Cottela, where twelve of them lived for some time in great poverty.

Ras Sella Christo. banished.

Among all these delinquents, one may easily imagine that the haughty patriarch was not treated more favourably than his inferior brethren. This prelate had taken the liberty to write to the emperor in favour of these fathers, whom he had stripped of their lands, and designed to confine at Fremona; but having now received an order from him, by two of his officers, to surrender into their hands all the fire-arms which were in his possession, and to retire immediately to the same place, he resolved to expostulate with him in a second letter; importing "That it was not of his own accord that he was sent patriarch into Abyssinia, but at the command of the pope and king of Portugal, at the request of the emperor his father; he therefore begged of him, since he was going to dismiss him out of his dominions, to let him and the world know his motives for so doing; and whether he and his brethren were condemned to banishment on account of their faith, or morals. I have (continued he) in complaisance to your father, remitted all our peculiar rites, except that of the communion in both kinds, which the pope alone can dispense with; and now make you the same offers, provided you and your subjects submit yourselves to the Roman church, as to the mother of all churches: and lastly, I beg that we may again, as at the beginning, be allowed to have the matter debated in a proper assem-

The patriarch ordered to retire to Fremona.

His letter to that monarch.

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bly of both parties, that it may be made plainly to appear which side is in the right."

The emperor's answer to it.

To this letter, the emperor was pleased to answer in a calm and judicious manner, by reminding him, "That the breach between him and the Abyssinians, was not so much owing to the dispute about the two natures of Christ, as to their denying them the cup in the communion; to their altering the fasts and festivals; to their presuming to re-baptize their proselytes; and to re-ordain their priests and deacons, as if the former had not been true Christians, nor the others lawfully ordained before the arrival of the Portuguese. As to having any farther conferences about these matters, he plainly told him, it was not by dint of arguments that they got their doctrines and rites established among them, but rather by persecution and tyranny, and that there was no good to be expected from any such disputes. He concluded with observing, that he expected a new abuna from Alexandria, and last from the kingdom of Enarea, where he was now waiting only for his departure for Fremona; he having signified to him, that he could never consent to appear in any country where there was a Roman patriarch [k]."

The patriarch obliged to depart.

Some other messages passed between them, after the receipt of this letter; but they had no other effect than to hasten the delivery of all the fire-arms, and the departure of the patriarch and his brethren to their college at Fremona; for which place they set out, accompanied by Paul, the emperor's nephew, who was ordered to guard them through the deserts, which swarm with robbers; though instead of protecting, he was the first that fell upon them, and would have stripped them of their baggage and valuables, had not some of the patriach's Portuguese killed two or three of his men, and driven the rest away. Neither would it have been possible for them to have saved any thing, even their lives, had not the two other governors, Tekla Salus and Azma Gerguis, who were to escort them through their own territories, proved more faithful and friendly. At length, with much fatigue, loss, and danger, they arrived at Fremona, on the A.D.1633. 24th of April of the following year, though in a very miserable plight. We shall follow them no farther than to this place, where they were hardly allowed a small time to refresh and recover themselves, before they re-

Arrives safe at Fremona.

[k] Histor. Ethiop. lib. vi. cap. 3. p. 517, & seq. [l] Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 13. n. 27, & seq. Lobo, Le Grand, & al.

ceived

ceived another order from the emperor, expressly enjoining them to depart instantly out of his dominions, and embark for the Indies. They staid, however, some time, to try to soften the Abyssinian monarch in their behalf, and used what friends they had left to represent to him the imminent danger they must run from the Turks, Moors, and other enemies to their religion. The emperor was so exasperated by his clergy, and others of his court, that he proved inexorable to all these solicitations, and they found themselves obliged to comply with his severe commands. They were first conducted to Mazowa, and thence to Suaken, where they were most cruelly used by the rapacious and inhuman bashaw; and after having suffered the hardest imprisonment and vilest indignities, they were forced to regain their liberty at a most exorbitant price. From thence, after many other difficulties and hardships, they arrived at Goa, and then returned to Lisbon; where they published this melancholy account of their sufferings and disappointments; though we may reasonably suppose they suppressed the main motives that occasioned it. All that we need add of the patriarch and the two Jesuits, that were detained at Suakem, is that they did not obtain their liberty till the 24th of April, 1635; when, having paid four thousand pieces of eight for their ransom, they were put on board, and arrived safe at Diu; from which place Mendez soon after sailed to Goa, in order to sollicit a fresh reinforcement to be sent into Abyssinia, but without any success [m].

Redeemed at a vast price.

It is now time to return to Ethiopia, and see what passed there after their expulsion. It might indeed have been expected, that after so severe a treatment of those missionaries, the ferment which they had kindled in the spirits of the Abyssinian clergy and laity, would have been in a great measure allayed; but there remained still sufficient cause for it, as long as father Apollinaris d'Almeyda, the lately made bishop of Nice, and some others of the Jesuit fraternity, continued concealed in the kingdom of Tigre, where they were privately protected by the viceroy Casta Mariam. The emperor being apprised of this circumstance, sent him orders, either to deliver them up to the mercy of the Turks, or to cause them to be put to death: so that being afraid of concealing them any longer, yet unwilling to sacrifice them to his resentment, he left

A.D. 1634.

Other Jesuits discovered.

[m] Tellez, ubi supra, lib. vi. cap. 14, & seq. Ludolph, lib. iii. cap. 14.

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them at liberty to retire. The bishop fled to father Rodriguez's retreat, where he continued for some time, and the other to a poor thatched cottage, where he lay concealed a whole year. About the same time Tekla Emanuel, governor of Assa, being removed for having entertained three others of the fraternity, his brother, who succeeded him, continued searching after them, till he found them in the retreat where they lay hid. He killed father Gasper Pays, with three other Portuguese youths, and left the rest dangerously wounded. Nor was the emperor less severe against such of his subjects as still persisted in their profession of the Roman faith, six of whom he caused to be put to cruel deaths, and others to be persecuted with equal rigour: to avoid which, many of them either fled, or returned to the ancient church.

Tekla Emanuel removed.

Their deaths.

A.D.1638. & seq.

In the year 1638, the bishop of Nice, and his two companions, being delivered up to the emperor, he condemned them to death; but afterwards changed their sentence into banishment: this not pleasing their enemies, they were all three hanged. Several others, some of whom had lain concealed till this time, and six French capuchins, lately arrived, were all likewise put to death. Notwithstanding these severities, there remained yet some other Jesuits concealed here and there; and among them F. Lewis Cardeyra and Bruno Bruni, who, in spite of all the emperor's promises and threats, were publicly protected by the lord of Temben, an Abyssinian nobleman of the kingdom of Tigre. But he was closely besieged, and, after a vigorous defence, slain by the viceroy of that kingdom: intelligence of whose death was brought to Amba Saloma, or the Holy Mountain, where those two fathers had made a vast number of such zealous proselytes, that rather than deliver up their spiritual guides, they chose to endure the greatest extremities of hunger and thirst, during more than a year; that is, till the year 1640; when being reduced to mere skeletons, and having obtained of the emperor an amnesty both for themselves and their two guides, they suffered them to be conducted to a neighbouring town, where a fair was kept in the month of March, and where, we are told, they were publicly hanged, notwithstanding the emperor's solemn engagement to the contrary[n].

Cardeyra and Bruno Bruni protected for some time, and at length publicly hanged.

A.D. 1640.

Soon after the death of the two fathers last mentioned, there happened a dreadful irruption of the Gallas into the

An irruption of the Gallas.

[n] Tellez, ubi. supra, lib. vi. cap. 16, & seq.

king-

kingdom of Tigre; a great part of which was laid utterly waste by those barbarians; against whom the emperor sent his son at the head of the choicest part of his army. These being joined by the saentes, or *lords of lands*, of that kingdom, gave the enemy battle on the very spot, we are told, where the fair above mentioned was kept: the onset was furious on both sides, till the young prince was slain, together with the bahrnagash Tekla Salas, and some other nobles; upon which the whole imperial army was put to the rout with great slaughter. The Gallas flushed with their success, returned next year with such an additional force, that they over-ran above twelve provinces belonging to that large kingdom, and penetrated as far as the sea-coasts, where they intended to have made themselves masters of Decano, or, as the Europeans call it, the fort Arkico; but were forced back by the Turkish artillery. The cruelties and ravages they committed in this expedition, were such, if we may credit the intelligence that hath come from thence by the way of Mazwa, from some Portuguese monks, and others, that the generality of the Abyssinians looked upon them as judgments from heaven, for their persecutions against the missionaries and their converts: even the empress mother, as well as his brother Claudius, who had been their greatest enemies, became now their most zealous intercessors with her son, and begged of him to return to that church, and prevent thereby the total ruin of the empire. To all these solicitations he lent a deaf ear; and persisting in his old measures, resolved, if possible, to extirpate the very name and memory of papists and Portuguese out of his dominions.

The emperor's army routed.

From this time forward, we hear of nothing but persecutions, civil wars, and other calamities within, new projects and fruitless attempts without, to revive the mission, and get fresh footing in Abyssinia; and of now-and-then some new monks discovered, and put to death, for endeavouring to procure a private admission. The patriarch, Alphonso Mendez, ceased not to sollicit the courts of Rome and Madrid in favour of some new project, not so much in hopes of regaining his lost dignity, as of retrieving his character, and the credit of his order; but he met with nothing from either but discouragements, or at best fair words and fruitless promises. He was even so impolitic as to endeavour to corrupt the bashaw of Suakem, by great presents and pompous promises, to permit some fresh Jesuits to steal into the empire in disguise, in order to supply the place of the old missionaries, whom he knew were

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were all dead by this time; not considering that the basha, being retained by the emperor, would not have failed of putting them to death, or at best to have extorted vast sums from them for their ransom: an eminent mark of which disposition he gave in the year 1648; when having caught three capuchin friars who were sent on that dangerous errand, he ordered them to be beheaded, their heads to be flayed, and the skins to be stuffed with straw, and sent to that monarch, as a testimony of his compliance with his junctions.

Three Capuchins put to death by him.

From this transaction one may draw these two inferences; 1st, that the emperor not only retained an irreconcileable prejudice against all missionaries, but took all proper precautions to prevent their approaching his dominions. The other, that by this time, the pope, and society de propaganda fide, were quite dissatisfied with the proceedings of the patriarch and his Jesuits; and their chusing from that time to send Capuchins, Dominicans, and men of any order but their's, plainly shews that they had conceived some strong suspicions against that politic society. But this caution, instead of producing any good effect towards the re-introducing a mission into the country, rather proved an obstruction to it; the Jesuits and their friends being no less industrious and diligent in misrepresenting and undermining all the measures of the other friars than they were in contriving and promoting their own. The same contrast reigns also between the French missionaries, who were pitched upon for that work, and the Portuguese, who were now set aside on account of their being become so odious to the Abyssinians.

The patriarch and Jesuits suspected at Rome. Capuchins sent in their stead.

As for the patriarch, though he never durst return into Europe, after his expulsion and disgrace, but continued in India to the day of his death, when he found that all his solicitations proved ineffectual at Rome and Madrid, he tried to establish a correspondence with the Capuchins, whom he supposed to be either still at Suakem, or to have by that time got into Abyssinia, in order to know what passed there, and consult about such other measures as the present juncture should suggest; little dreaming that the Turkish bashaw had put them to death. He sent thither with this view an Italian, named Torquato Parisiano, as an Englishman, in a ship of that nation. They landed at Suakem on the 7th of May, 1648. Here they were soon informed of the fate of the Capuchins; upon which, the English advised Torquato to return to the ship, seeing he could do no good on shore, but rather ran the risque of his

The patriarch still plots in India.

Torquato sent into Abyssinia.

Forced to go back.

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his life; with which advice he complied, and returned in the same ship to India. Some other stratagems the old patriarch set on foot afterwards, which proved equally abortive, till death at length put an end to them, and his life and exile on the 29th of June, anno 1656, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and twenty-second of his banishment. *The patriarch dies in India.*

As for the remainder of the emperor's reign, and those of his successors, all is either wrapped up in obscurity, through the general stop that hath been put to all future commerce with that empire, or so differently related by the Jesuitical and Capuchin writers, that little certainty can be had from either party. If any thing can be depended upon that they have written on the subject, it is the severity with which Basilides treated all the missionaries and their converts. Tellez closes his history with what he styles the martyrdom of father Bernard Nogueyra, whom the patriarch Mendez had appointed his vicar-general, after the death of all the others, and who was the last who suffered for that cause. As for their converts, they were obliged to return to the Alexandrian church, or to abscond from punishment by retiring into mountains and deserts: but there is little reason, whatever those writers may pretend to the contrary, to suppose, that the numbers of these were any thing so great as they represent it; since, even by their own accounts, the Abyssinians were always more ready to change sides upon all emergencies than to suffer for either. It is therefore more probable, that after the death and expulsion of those fathers, and the arrival of the new abuna, that church resumed its ancient state; especially as Ras Sella Christos, and other great partisans of the see of Rome, were effectually deprived of the power and means of raising any new disturbances in its favour. *The rest of this reign very uncertain.*

The patriarch Mendez, whilst he lived, ceased not soliciting the viceroy of Goa, and the king his master, to attempt a fresh invasion and revolution in that empire. His advice, which favoured more of the martial conqueror than of a Christian apostle, was to send a sufficient naval force into the Red Sea to seize on the island Mazowa, and the port of Arkico, thence to corrupt or subdue the bahrnaghash to their side, recall the exiled Ras Sella Christos, and proclaim him emperor in the room of Basilides: which scheme he proposed not only as feasible, but as the only means left of reducing Abyssinia under the pope's authority. The father Jerom Lobo had been sent to Rome upon the same errand by the patriarch, and had expatiated *The patriarch's strange politics and advice.*

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expatiated upon that favourite subject at court with such warm zeal, that the pope and cardinals began to suspect their expulsion and late disasters were rather owing to their having been guilty of some such treasonable attempts and practices than to any other motive they alleged. The very slight mention which Tellez makes of their endeavours to release Ras Sella Christos from his exile, and of the revolt of Za Mariam, who died sword in hand at the head of the rebellious mountaineers of Lasta, may shew how much reason there was for such a suspicion. However, as neither the pope nor Spanish king were inclined, or perhaps in a capacity to attempt any such project against the emperor, it is very likely that both church and state continued peaceable and free from any future attempt, at least from that quarter.

A false abuna deposed and banished.

But if we believe the accounts that came from thence, a more shameful disaster happened to both from the pretended abuna, who, we are told, proved no better than an obscure layman, a dealer in horses, from Nubia. He had ventured to assume the patriarchal dignity, and to perform the functions of it undiscovered and unsuspected, till he was at length found out by an Egyptian, who knew and betrayed him; at which he was so exasperated, that he murdered his detector. The emperor was not long uninformed of the crime and imposture of the pretended abuna, whom he deposed by his own authority, and sent into banishment in the barren island of Deck, where all the great criminals of state are confined. The true patriarch arrived soon after from Alexandria with his wife and children, but behaved in such a scandalous manner, that the emperor was obliged to depose him likewise; and sent him under a strong guard to bleach on the top of an almost inaccessible rock.

An express was dispatched with all speed to Alexandria for another; but in the mean time father Agathangelus de Vendosme, now become chief of the Capuchin mission, went thither on purpose to intreat the patriarch to consider the deplorable condition of the new converts in Abyssinia, and to send thither a milder and more humane abuna, who, by a prudent and charitable conduct, might soften the minds of the court and clergy in their favour, and dissipate, by degrees, those violent prejudices they had conceived against the Roman church. The patriarch not only promised to comply with his request, but even wrote a letter to desire the emperor to treat those new converts with less severity, and to abstain from shed-

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ding Christian blood. At the same time he nominated Mark, who professed great friendship for the Capuchin friar, to be his abuna there. The good old father, flushed with his success, sent a letter by him to the patriarch Mendez, then a prisoner at Suakem, full of commendations of the new prelate, and of the great expectation he had conceived from his interposition and good offices; but the Portuguese patriarch, more clear-sighted, or perhaps more suspicious than father Agathangelus soon discovered him, upon their conferring together, to be a strenuous Jacobite; and that instead of favouring the Romanists, he would prove one of their bittereſt enemies, as he actually did not long after.

In some of these interviews a young Lutheran, called Heyling, who had agreed to travel with the abuna, into Abyssinia, had some disputes with Mendez, who declared that if ever Heyling gained admission, he would plunge the whole empire into the most dangerous heresy.

These frequent visits were at length broken off by the rapaciousness of the bashaw; who, in order to extort a greater sum from the patriarch for his ransom, caused him to be more narrowly confined; upon which the abuna and the Lutheran made the best of their way into Abyssinia, where this last was to practise physic, and by that canal introduce himself to the emperor. Mean while father Agathangelus, and five more of his fraternity, depending upon the friendship of the abuna Mark, had found means to ingratiate themselves with the new bashaw whom the Grand Signior had sent to Mazwa, and had actually landed with him in that island under his protection. But here Agathangelus, burning with desire to try his success in Abyssinia, and venturing to go thither with another of the brotherhood in the disguise of Armenian merchants, they were both apprehended, and, at their desire, it is most likely, were conducted to the abuna, expecting no doubt to be cleared and set at liberty; but he publicly declared that he knew them to be Roman priests, and sworn enemies to the Abyssinian church; upon which they were both stoned to death without farther trial. He and Heyling afterwards proceeded on their journey to court, where they both met with a gracious reception; and it is from this last that we are informed of the death of the two Capuchins above mentioned. He continued several years in this empire, highly favoured by the court and clergy, both on account of his skill and success in physic, and his knowlege in the Oriental languages, and in polemic divinity.

Heyling's success in Ethiopia.

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divinity, to which last Mr. Ludolph attributes, perhaps too fondly, to the near affinity of the Abyssinian and Lutheran principles *; adding, that he had been brought up under masters of such great and sincere piety, that they were thought to be infected with enthusiasm. Others, particularly Mendez, represent him as infected with quietism; and adds, that "mira obscuritate omnia ad spiritum referebat." However that be, he could not conceal his religion so closely, continues that author, but he was at length found out, and banished. Ludolph, on the contrary, says, that he was greatly esteemed, and raised to high preferments; and that it was with regret that the emperor suffered him to return into Europe, which, if he had lived to see, he would have obliged the public with some very curious memoirs of that country; but he fell unfortunately into the hands of the Arabs, some say, while others affirm, that the bashaw of Suakem ordered him to be put to death; but whether by order of the emperor or not, is still in dispute between the two parties above mentioned.

Leaves it some years after.

Put to death in his return.

Basilides intimidated by rumours and threats.

We have already observed what pains the late patriarch Mendez had taken to corrupt the bashaw of Suakem to his interest, and how far the Capuchins had gained that of Mazwa to introduce them into Ethiopia; and though neither of those attempts succeeded, yet they could not but greatly alarm Basilides, especially as a report was spread through all the coasts of the Red Sea, that the Portuguese, assisted by all the princes of Europe, were equipping a great naval force to invade his dominions. This intelligence had obliged him to keep constantly two ambassadors at Mazwa and Suakem, a third at Moca, and a fourth at Yemen, and to ply the governors of them with rich presents from time to time, to keep them stedfast in his interest, and oblige them to seize on all suspicious persons that attempted to enter his dominions; yet could not all these precautions prevent some of them from running the imminent risque of his resentment.

Father Botelko, who had been some time rector of the Jesuit college at Diu, took it into his head to try whether he could not prove more successful than his brethren, and ventured to land at Suakem in a Turkish disguise; of which circumstance the Abyssinian ambassador was no sooner apprised, than he set out with all possible speed to acquaint his master with it, not doubting but

* Comment. p. 553.

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there were more of the same fraternity ready to follow him. This intelligence occasioned new instructions and presents to be dispatched to those bashaws and governors, to seize and put to death all the Portuguese and Franks that came into their hands, and not to suffer any of them to harbour in the neighbourhood of his dominions. Basilides suffered himself to be drawn into a suspicion that his brother Claudius was a party concerned in all the machinations that were formed against him; and that he held a clandestine correspondence with the Jesuits, and had entered into a secret alliance with the Portuguese [t].

His severity to his brother, &c justified.

On this suspicion he caused him to be apprehended and brought before him, and accused him, before a numerous concourse of people, of having renounced the religion of his forefathers, and to have conspired with the Portuguese against his crown and life, in order to overturn both church and state, and subject both to the pope and king of Spain. The prince was condemned to death by the whole assembly, and immediately suffered decapitation. This execution was followed by confiscations, imprisonments, and other severities, from which persons of the highest rank, even among the fair sex, were not exempted; some of whom were banished, and others confined to barren rocks, for no other crime than their intimacy with the deceased prince, or shewing, like him, particular regard for the Romish religion.

Accused of introducing Mohammedism.

All these severe punishments could not quiet the emperor's mind, who rather imagined that they only increased the number of malcontents, both within and without his dominions. He, therefore, had recourse to the Mohammedan Yemen, with whom he entered into an alliance; and the more effectually to bind him to his interest, not only offered his subjects the free exercise of their religion, but desired him to send some able doctors to come and preach it among his people. This negociation was accidentally discovered by a quarrel between the two persons he had intrusted with it, one of whom was a Turk, and the other a Christian; the former was highly caressed and honoured at the Yemen's court; and at their return distinguished with considerable presents, whilst the latter was scarcely taken any notice of; in revenge of which, this last taking an opportunity of going before him, spread the alarm wherever he passed, that the emperor had sent for Mohammedan doctors to propagate their religion, and

[t] Iid. ibid. Tellez, Lobo, Le Grand, & al.

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that one of that class was actually on the road thither with the other ambassador, meaning the Turk above mentioned, and would soon be at court.

A general revolt. These tidings failed not to raise a general revolt, which was chiefly headed by the monks, and followed by an universal outcry, that the emperor ought to be dethroned, and another prince raised to the crown, fit to maintain the ancient religion. The emperor tried in vain to disculpate himself, and threw all the fault on the empress-mother, who was the grand-daughter of a Mohammedan, and still retained a strong bias for that religion: no credit was given to any thing he said, because they knew he had held several private conferences with the Turkish doctor: so that seeing himself on the point of losing his life and crown, he was forced to dismiss him with as little noise as possible, though not without considerable presents [u]. This is the sum of the charge alleged against him; which, as well as that other of fratricide, Mr. Ludolph justly questions, as at least very improbable, and such as in their nature, especially the last, might justly require the testimony of a much more impartial set of witnesses than an exasperated patriarch and a surviving Jesuit or two, reduced to the lowest misery, before it can gain credit with persons of common candour and judgment. Tellez hath affirmed it, upon the authority of father Nogueyra, who was still alive in Abyssinia, though, by his own account, in a most miserable condition (O); upon that of father Torquato Pisani,

[u] Tellez, Ludolph, Lobo, Le Grand, ubi supra.

(O) Nothing, indeed, is more melancholy and dismal than the account which he gives of the distress he and all his friends and converts were in at that time; and our readers will not think it foreign to our subject, if we subjoin a letter which he sent from Mazwa into Europe, upon that affair, written in the name of Ras Sella Christos, and his own, and runs as follows:

"Most illustrious lords, the bishops and governors of the Indies, Ras Sella Christos to all catholic Christians and true sons of the church of God, peace and mercy in our Lord.

"I know not in what tongue or words I can sufficiently express the perils and dangers of this church, which are the more afflicting to me, as I am an eye-witness of them. I heartily beseech our Lord Jesus Christ, who was nailed to a cross, and is plentiful in mercy, to make them known to all our brethren, to all prelates, archbishops, bishops, rectors, kings, viceroys, princes, and governors, who enjoy any authority on the other side of the water.

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sani, another Jesuit, who came thither, as is supposed, either about or soon after that time; and more particularly

water. I always believed, and often flattered myself, that they would have assisted us ere now, and not have so long delayed to redeem us from the hands of barbarians, and of that perverse nation, if the multitude of my sins had not obstructed it. In former days, when there was no church here, and when the names of Christian and Catholic were unknown to us, some of them have come to our assistance, and have rescued us from the power of the Mohammedans; but now when we have here such a great number of faithful, we are forgot, and not one thinks of assisting us. What! doth the sovereign pontiff of Rome, our father, and so dearly beloved shepherd, no longer sit on St. Peter's immoveable chair, or doth he no longer think of comforting us? We are his sheep, and shall we not, before we quit this miserable life, have the satisfaction to hear that he thinks of us, and designs to prevent our being devoured by those heretics, who wage so bloody a war against us? Hath Portugal no longer any prince that burns with the same zeal as the great Christopher de Gama? Is there no prelate left there to lift up his hands to heaven to obtain for us the assistance we stand in so great need of? I faint at the thoughts of it, my speech fails, and my tongue is dried up, whilst my eyes flow with a constant stream. Covered with dust and ashes, I beg and conjure all the faithful to send us a speedy succour, before we are utterly destroyed.

"My chains grow heavier and heavier every day, whilst I am told, that if I will come over to their side, and return to our old communion, we shall be recalled from our exile. These promises are made to me with no other view than to ruin me, and to involve all the catholics that are left, and the very church itself, in the same ruin. If, therefore, there be still any Christians left on the other side of the ocean, let them shew themselves such, by acknowleging us as their brethren in Jesus Christ; and since we maintain the same faith which they do, let them come and deliver us from this Egyptian heresy and bondage."

"Here (says Noguera) end the words of our friend Ras Sella Christos, which he uttered to me with bitter sighs and tears, when I last visited him, in August, anno 1648. It is now my turn to weep, and a flood of tears obliges me to drop my pen. I am unable to write, and leave you to judge of my excessive distress. I landed at this place (Mazwa) on the 26th of this month, at the greatest peril of my life. I have spared no labour, nor shunned any danger to come hither, in hopes that our faithful friends, either from Portugal or India, would, before this time, have sent us some seasonable help, but not the least have I found. I have rather

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larly on that of the patriarch Mendez, who, though at that distance, yet might hear of it by some Abyssinians, who were come into India; and these the reader may believe, if he pleases, seeing the absolute stop that hath been put to all future commerce with that country hath depriv-

been ill used by the Baneans, particularly by Xabandur and Xarcafi, who are known to engross all the coin. None of them have deigned to shew me their letters, or so much as to let me know what news they had received. I have writ several letters from Dembea, and have not received any answer to them, which makes me think that they all miscarried, and that God would not suffer any of them, through my sins, to come to your hands. I am now about to return to Ras Sella Christos, and shall leave here James Xaxem, a man well known by the Baneans, and who, if any answer comes, will convey the same to me.

"My fellow-labourers, abba Melcha Christos, abba Feuza Christos, John Gabriel, Gregory, Anthony d'Almanza, and Christopher, are now become mere skeletons, having been dragged into prison, whipped, &c. and their skins are fallen off, through excess of misery; and, if they are not dead, they have undergone the most extreme hardships, being forced to beg their bread from door to door.

"On the 21st of October, 1647, abba Zara Christos, the disciple of abba Keril, and brother of abba Gregory, was put to death; as was also the senator Ando, a man eminent for his learning and piety. On the 30th of September, 1648, dom Ihum Laca Mariam, dom John Melcha Christos, and dom Theodore, were imprisoned; and captain Gabriel Donaceos hath been banished, for not delivering me up into the hands of the heretics. All the Portuguese of Fremona have apostatized, and have shewn the most excessive hatred against me, and accused me before abba Emana Christos, our most bitter enemy, and one who hath already put several catholics to death.

"To conclude, I go hence without the least glimpse of hope or comfort, having neither food nor raiment, nor daring to stay here longer, for fear of being surprised by the Turkish vessels, whom the season will quickly bring hither. I shall return again by the next year, if God permit; and I beseech God, that this letter may be perused by all our prelates and churchmen, and particularly by the patriarch Mendez, and the father Emanuel d'Almeida, if they be still alive; and, with my face prostrate to the ground, do recommend myself to their blessing and prayers. Dated from Mazwa, January 30th, 1649. Signed, Bernard Nogueyra (1)."

(1) Tellez, ubi supra, Lobo, Le Grand, Hist. de la Relat. d'Abis. p. 150, & seq.

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ed us of all means of disproving it, but such only as reason suggests against the probability of the report.

Neither are the remaining particulars of that monarch's reign reported in a more favourable manner. It plainly appears from the contents of the letter mentioned in the last note, and some others we have taken notice of a little higher, that their main design was to animate the pope and Spain to make a fresh attempt on this empire; it was therefore their interest to represent it as reduced to the lowest degree of weakness by revolts, invasions, and other calamities; and these as so many just judgments inflicted by the Divine Providence to punish that unfortunate prince both for his apostacy from the church of Rome, and for the cruel persecutions he had exercised against her most zealous votaries. Accordingly, no sooner had he, with great difficulty, suppressed the general revolt which his clergy had raised against him, on the suspicion of his going to introduce the Mohammedan religion, but he was obliged to go and quell an insurrection among the Augaus. In this expedition, however, instead of the laurels and spoils he promised to himself, he met, we are told, with a most shameful overthrow. In the same year, his general Bella Christos, at the head of a powerful army, was likewise totally defeated by the mountaineers of Lasta [w]. This misfortune was soon followed by a terrible irruption of the Gallas, who entered the kingdom of Gojam at three different places, whilst Basilides was refreshing his troops in Bagameder, and in the territories of the Agaus; so that he was forced to let them commit the greatest ravages, and go off with their immense plunder, as he was not in a condition to oppose them. In short, say our authors, he was successful in nothing but in discovering and apprehending some of his catholic subjects, and condemning them to death, or cruel banishments. Father Nogueira's trip to the island of Mazowa having been discovered to the emperor, and represented to him as a fresh attempt to call in a new supply of Portuguese, an order was published to have him apprehended alive or dead; so that neither the college of Fremona, nor any of his intimate friends, durst give him protection; and some of them, who had gone over to the Abyssine church, proved his most inveterate enemies; yet could none of these lay hold of him, so artfully was he concealed.

They represent Basilides as unfortunate in his wars.

His severity to the catholics.

[w] Le Grand, ubi supra, p. 154.

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A new revolt. The imperial army had hardly refreshed itself, when the province of Cottela revolted. This was followed by a rebellion in some of the provinces on the west of Enarea, which refused to send the yearly tribute of horses they had engaged to pay, on condition that Basilides should protect them against the Portuguese.

The following year was no less unfortunate: Bella Christos was sent against the mountaineers of Denghis; who, upon the first notice of his approach, seized on all the passes, and so well fortified themselves in them, that they not only stopped his farther progress, but falling suddenly on him, made a most dreadful slaughter among his forces. This was soon followed by the news that a certain strange nation had penetrated through some of the Abyssine frontiers, and were ravaging the maritime provinces without opposition; upon which it was immediately concluded, that these could be no other than the Portuguese, who would quickly become masters of the whole empire. However, it was not long before they found their mistake, these new invaders being the subjects of the king of Adel, who had taken the advantage of the great losses the emperor had sustained, and made himself master of ten or twelve strong rocks, from which he sent them to plunder and ravage the low lands, and sometimes penetrated a great way into the neighbouring provinces.

Invaded by the king of Adel.

Thus far the account of those Jesuits represents that monarch's reign as very unfortunate in every respect. But if we believe Mr. Ludolph and abbot Gregory, no reign could be more quiet and happy than his proved, from the time of his expelling the patriarch and missionries, except some severe examples he was forced to make on a few of their zealous and daring partisans. This indeed plainly appears the most reasonable account of the two, seeing all the revolts and disasters that had happened in former reigns were wholly owing to the preference which his predecessors had shewn for the Romish church, and the violent means which they used to force their clergy and laity to submit to its doctrines and discipline. What cause could there be for any fresh discontents, after he had so effectually removed the occasion of all their fears, and had, in every step, approved himself a sincere and strenuous defender of the Abyssinian church, against all the open and secret attempts of the pope and Portuguese? As to the charge laid to him of favouring Mohammedism, it is not only inconsistent with the zeal he

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he ſhewed for the reſtoring of the ancient church, but abſurd on ſeveral other accounts. We accordingly find in the preamble, and ſome other parts of a letter which he or his ſon and ſucceſſor Af Segued ſent to the governor of Batavia, circa anno 1672, that he gives himſelf and his father the character of Chriſtian princes, and defenders of the Chriſtian faith; a plain indication that it was ſtill the eſtabliſhed religion of that empire. This letter, a Latin verſion of which the reader may ſee in Mr. Ludolph's Commentary, doth not indeed begin with the uſual words, "In the name of the Father, Son, &c." like thoſe of his predeceſſors, but "In the name of God, merciful and gracious." Neither is it dated according to the Chriſtian, but the Mohammedan æra; namely, in the moon Moharam (April), and in the year of the Hejra 1083. The reaſon of which appears to be, that the latter being written in the Arabic, and not in the Ethiopic tongue, the Arabian ſecretary made uſe of the Mohammedan inſtead of the Chriſtian inſcription and æra; but, in other reſpects, it runs, as all others do, in a truly Chriſtian ſtyle.

A.D. 1699.

In Poncet's time, the Mohammedans hated in Abyſſinia.

What ſtill more confirms the ſteadineſs of Baſilides, and his two immediate ſucceſſors, to the ancient Abyſſinian faith, is the condition in which the French phyſician Charles Poncet found that empire in the years 1699 and 1700, of which we ſhall now give a ſhort account. He found the emperor a zealous profeſſor of the Abyſſinian faith; the abuna, clergy, and monks, though not very well verſed in polemic divinity, yet ſtrenuous aſſertors and rigid obſervers of the rites, tenets, and diſcipline, of their church; the laity moſt devoutly ſubmiſſive to them, and all of them entirely averſe to every religion but their own, but more particularly to the church of Rome, and Mohammediſm. With regard to the latter, though he found it tolerated amongſt them, as the Turks are indeed pretty numerous, and have ingroſſed the commerce, yet they live in ſeparate quarters, and are ſtyled no better than gebertes, or *ſlaves*. The Ethiopians never eat with them, nor of any thing that is killed by them. They do not even drink out of a cup that hath been uſed by one of them, until the prayers of ſome good man have been ſaid over it, and he, by his breathing thrice into it, drives away the evil ſpirit. He adds, that they never ſalute them but with the left hand, which is a mark of contempt [x].

[x] Poncet, Voyage, Engl. p. 68.

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Seven thousand monks precipitated from a rock.

One action, however, he relates of the emperor Basilides, whom he calls Ati Basili, the grandfather of the young emperor then upon the throne; which seems, in some measure, to confirm what the Jesuits laid to his charge, about his favouring the Mohammedans; namely, that he caused seven thousand priests and monks, who had revolted against him, to be thrown headlong from the top of the mountain Balban: for it is hardly to be supposed, that those priests raised that revolt on any other account, than the alliances which the emperor had made with the Mohammedan princes, joined to the pensions and presents he had sent to them, in order to prevent the Portuguese from entering his dominions. This connection might at once give birth and countenance to the false report, that he was going to introduce Mohammedism, and so stir up the whole body of the clergy against him; but which of the two were more likely to be the inventors and first spreaders of this calumny, the missionaries, who had been so severely treated by him, and whose interest it was to render him as odious to his subjects as they possibly could, or the Abyssine clergy, whom he had so highly obliged by those severities, and by his strenuous zeal against the church of Rome, and all its partisans, we leave the reader to judge.

The French try their success there.

We come now to the voyage of Charles Poncet, though without entering into any farther detail of it than concerns the sequel and conclusion of this history. The French court had been induced by some of the missionaries of their nation to try their fortune in this empire. Lewis XIV. had been prevailed upon to write a most obliging letter to Adian Segued, the father of the young emperor then upon the throne; which, though we are not told by what means, found its way to that young monarch; for Poncet tells us, that he was pleased to shew it to him, when he was at his court. At the same time, Monsieur Maillet, the French consul at Kairo, had orders to make what enquiries he could into the state of that empire, and to try all possible means and stratagems to open a way into it for some of his nation. Fortune at length offered one to him, which he readily seized, and carried on with success. Agi Hali, the emperor's factor in that city, complained to him of a stubborn disease, with which not only he, but his master, and the prince his son, had been afflicted for some time; upon which, the consul told him, that he had a most expert physician in his service, who, he was sure, could cure him of it, if any of that profession could.

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could. Hali was easily prevailed upon to make use of him, and became effectually cured. This circumstance was inducement enough to him to venture the sending Poncet to his master's court; and the consul sent a letter of recommendation by him to the sick monarch. The Jesuits at the same time, displeased at their being set aside from that mission, to make room for the Capuchins and other friars, made use of all their interest to obtain permission for some of their society to accompany the said physician into Abyssinia; alleging that the Catholic converts in that empire were their own flock; accordingly father Fr. Xavier de Brevedent, a man of great piety, zeal, and learning, especially in astronomy, was allowed to go with Poncet as one of his retinue. They embarked upon the Nile, along with the emperor's factor Agi Hali, on the 10th of June; and, after a long and tedious journey both by land and water, arrived at Barko, a small town about half a day's journey from the city of Gundar, on the the 3d of July of the following year; when the good old father died of a dysentery, occasioned by his taking the seeds of the Indian pine-apple [x].

Poncet, having staid there to refresh himself till the 21st of the same month, pursued his journey, and arriving safe at Gundar, met with a most gracious reception from the emperor, who visited him several times in private, till he was recovered of his fatigue, when he was honoured with a public audience, with as great ceremony as if he had been an ambassador. The apartment, which had been assigned to him in the imperial palace, being near that of the emperor's children, he was conducted from it about ten of the clock in the morning, to the great hall, where his majesty was seated on a throne, or couch, covered with a carpet of red damask, flowered with gold; round about which were several large cushions, embroidered likewise with gold. This couch, of which the four feet were of massive silver, was placed in an alcove at the bottom of the hall, covered with a dome shining with gold and azure.

The emperor's dress, &c.

The emperor appeared in a rich silk vest with long sleeves, embroidered with gold; and the scarf with which he was girt was wrought in the same costly manner. His head was bare; his hair braided with great neatness; and a large emerald glittered on his forehead. He was alone in the alcove, and sat cross-legged on his throne after the eastern manner; his great lords standing on each side with

[x] Poncet, p. 40.

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their hands across observing a profound silence. Upon Poncet's approaching the foot of the throne, and making the usual prostration, he had the singular honour to kiss his hand, and presented Monsieur Maillet's letter; which being interpreted to the emperor, he expressed himself highly in favour of the French monarch his master, enquired much after the royal family, the extent of his dominions, power, and grandeur, and seemed highly pleased with the account he gave him; the result of which was that he expressed a desire of entering into an alliance with Lewis, and to obtain one of his daughters in marriage to the prince his son.

Desire of an alliance with Lewis XIV.

His character.

He appeared to be about forty-one years of age, tall and handsome beyond any of his court, courteous, and generous, wise, prudent, and warlike, and so religious, that though he had not yet finished the course of physic which the doctor prescribed, yet he would not absent himself from church on the festival of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, which is there celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. The abuna officiated in his pontificals, and the emperor assisted at it with his numerous court in their most pompous dress, while the army, being drawn up in the best order, heightened the grandeur of the festivity by their shouts, firings, and warlike music. The emperor dining on that day in public, and Poncet being allowed a table near him, the empress, who had likewise some ailment to consult him about, appeared in the afternoon in great pomp; upon which the whole court withdrew, except he, who was ordered to stay. She appeared magnificently clothed, and covered all over with jewels. She had a fair complexion and majestic porte; and, after she had consulted him about her health, her curiosity induced her to ask many questions about the French ladies.

Devotion.

The empress consults Poncet.

It is plain, however, that in what he says of both their majesties, and other persons of quality, wearing a variety of jewels, and in the description he gives of several of the emperor's stately palaces, as well as of Gundar, which he styles the capital city of Ethiopia, and of some other towns and places of note, he contradicts the unanimous account which all the Portuguese writers have given us of that empire, except the Dominican friar Urreta, who is universally cried down as a fabulous author. The city of Gundar, or, as Mr. Ludolph writes it, Guender, is, according to him, an imperial camp, and not a city, much less the metropolis of the empire; that title belonging only to the decayed town of Axuma, as we have elsewhere shewn.

Hence

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Hence it is, that his and Mr. Maillet the French consul's enemies have not scrupled to expose his account of Abyssinia, and all that he hath said of it, as a piece of forgery, contrived by them to impose upon the French court; they even affirm that the former was never in Abyssinia [y]. This is indeed looked upon by the more candid part of mankind as an unjust and invidious reflection on them both; yet as some other difficulties have been raised against them, which are not quite removed, we shall suspend our judgment, till time furnishes us with some new account or discovery, which may enable us to ascertain the truth.

Poncet having succeeded in the cure of the emperor and his family, but enjoying only a crazy state of health in that hot country, resolved, if possible, to get out of it as soon as he could. The difficulty was how to obtain the permission of that monarch, who was become very fond of him and his medicines. He was therefore obliged to tell him, that if he staid much longer in his dominions, death would soon put it out of his power to be any longer serviceable to him; but that if he could be permitted to breathe his own native air, the only expedient that could recover him, he might then be enabled, as soon as he found his health sufficiently confirmed, to return and renew his services. The good emperor, softened by motives of compassion, and satisfied by his most solemn oaths and promises, consented to his departure, though much against his will, and not without obliging him to swear on the holy Gospel, that he would not fail of performing his promise, and returning to him as soon as he was recovered. At the same time, the vast esteem which he had inspired that monarch with for the king his master, having determined him to appoint an ambassador to negotiate an alliance with him, and to send him some considerable presents, he at first pitched upon Abba Gregorios, and recommended him to Poncet to teach him the Latin tongue; but, upon second thoughts, being reminded by Morat, that it was the custom of the Abyssine monarchs to make use of strangers, rather than of their own subjects, for such commissions, he was easily persuaded by that designing minister to appoint his young nephew to that employment. Accordingly, young Morat was publicly declared, and ordered to get all things ready, particularly the presents, which consisted of a number of elephants and horses, and young Ethiopian children, civet, and some other productions of

Morat sent ambassador to Lewis XIV.

Presents sent.

[y] See Le Grand, ubi supra, p. 406, & seq. 408, & seq.

that

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that country. His chief errand at the French court, besides negotiating the alliance above mentioned, was to obtain from that monarch an able engineer, a cannon-founder, an armourer, a clock-maker, some architects, masons, carpenters, locksmiths, gardeners, glaziers, and a good physician, or surgeon.

Poncet sets out before him.

His audience of leave, escorte, &c.

Poncet, being very pressing for his departure, obtained his audience of leave. The ambassador Morat was detained some time longer by the emperor; but the other was to wait for him at Devarowa, the capital of the kingdom of Tigre; to which he was conducted by a considerable escorte by the emperor's orders; who had likewise dispatched his commands to all the governors of the provinces through which he passed, to receive him with all possible honours, and to furnish him with every thing he wanted. He set out accordingly from Gundar on the 2d of May 1700, and at the end of two months and a half, during which he found his health mending gradually, he arrived at the capital above mentioned, where he met with an honourable reception from the bahrnagash of that province.

The emperor's eldest son dies.

Soon after his arrival, news came from court of the death of prince Basil, the emperor's eldest son, who was suddenly carried off by a malignant fever, in the 19th year of his age, and within eight days after his return from a campaign in which he had accompanied his father, and wherein he had highly signalized himself against the Gallas. His death was so much the more regretted, as he was endowed with all the good qualities of an accomplished prince. But that which most endeared him to the people, was the concern he shewed for their poverty and misery, occasioned by the avarice and tyranny of the nobles and officers: the messenger who brought the news of his death, said, that the young prince made it his dying request to his father, that he would ease them of that grievous burden; and, to his great satisfaction, obtained a previous promise from his afflicted father, accompanied with a flood of tears.

Funeral obsequies.

Intelligence of that prince's untimely death, was published by the sound of the trumpet both at Devarowa and through all the provinces of the Tigran kingdom; after which, every one appeared in the deepest mourning. His funeral obsequies were performed at the great church of that city with more than usual solemnity, and lasted three whole days, according to custom. The emperor's being obliged, upon that occasion, to abstain from all public business,

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business, prevented Morat's being dispatched so soon as was first expected; so that Poncet growing uneasy at his delay, and afraid of losing the monsoon, sent word that he would wait for him at Gedda, a small sea-port on the Red Sea. From thence he, by letter, informed the consul at Kairo, that no missionaries could possibly be admitted into Abyssinia; that upon his first going thither, above a hundred thousand priests and monks had raised a revolt against the emperor; that they had likewise rebelled on hearing that an English vessel had appeared upon that coast; and that the emperor was sending an ambassador, with horses, elephants, and Ethiopian children, into Europe [z]. Poncet having waited there some time, received a letter from Morat, importing, that he could not come to him so soon as he designed; upon which, he set out for mount Sinai, which he was desirous to visit, and where Morat agreed to join him. He came to him accordingly a month after, but in a miserable plight, having been deprived of the Abyssine children he was to carry into France by the king of Mecca, and, to complete his misfortune, the vessel in which the presents were, had been cast away. They set out from Sinai, and arrived at Suez; whence Poncet sent word to the consul of his coming with the Abyssinian ambassador by the caravan, consisting of eight thousand camels. Poncet reached Kairo two days before the ambassador, to get all things ready for his reception; but so many objections were raised against his credentials, the loss of his presents, and the account he gave of himself and commission, as rendered his embassy abortive, and prevented his being sent to the French court. In a word, the whole affair of Poncet's voyage, and Morat's embassy, was cried down as a mere imposition [a].

Since that time we read of nothing relating to this empire, but fruitless and disastrous attempts made by the missionaries for re-admission; but of nothing that has been transacted in it; so careful have the Abyssine monarchs been, by the help of their Mohammedan neighbours, to deprive us of all farther intelligence (P).

[z] Le Grand, ibid. p. 161, & seq. [a] Le Grand, & seq. 373, & seq. 406, 414, 428. 441, & alibi pass.

(P) In our detail of this Abyssinian history, we have made no use of the book written on this subject by the Dominician friar Ludovigo de Uretta, which is now universally exploded as a ridiculous fiction.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XLIV.

The History of the Kingdoms adjacent to Abyssinia.

Some of the kingdoms on this coast unknown, or miscalled, as that of Barnagasso.

BEFORE we enter upon the description and history of these kingdoms, it will not be improper to apprise our readers, that all our maps of Africa, those of D'Anville, the most modern and exact not excepted, place several kingdoms on the confines of Abyssinia, along the coasts of the Red Sea, concerning which we meet with little or nothing in our geographical books but their names and precarious situation. Of this nature are the kingdoms of Balu or Bali, Deking or Deghin, Barnaghasso or Midrehbar, and others, which croud this coast in the maps, whilst their names are unknown even to the most voluminous compilers of geographical dictionaries. At the head of them stands Barnagosso, or Barnagash, on the confines of Tigre, belonging to the empire of Abyssinia, styled a kingdom, in those maps, through mistake, or inadvertence; that compound name of Bahr and Naghash, signifying no more, in the Ethiopic language, than a prefecture, or government of a maritime province, or territory, of which there are still several which bear that title, some subject to the Abyssinian emperors; and others which have withdrawn their allegiance from them, and put themselves under the protection of the Turks. However, both of them are in too poor and mean a condition to deserve that pompous name. What kind of a kingdom this was, may be guessed at from the wretched reception which the Portuguese embassy to the Negus, under the famed Alvarez, met with in his way to that court, and the miserable condition he found that maritime government in, which could hardly afford him and his retinue any better fare than barley bread, or barley meal, and some wine made of honey.

SECT. I.

Kingdoms of Balu and Dancali.

Kingdom of Belu.

THE petty kingdom of Balu, or Bali, was once subject to the same empire, but hath since revolted from it; and is erroneously taken, by some geographers, for a part of Dancali, though the sovereign of this last be an ever faithful

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faithful ally, and the other a declared enemy, to the Ethiopian monarchs. However that be, his dominions, let him aſſume what title he will, deſerve no farther mention, ſeeing he hath neither cities nor towns, but only ſome villages ſcattered through a large uncultivated territory, inhabited by the wild plundering Gallas. They at firſt ſettled in theſe maritime parts, and from thence made the moſt dreadful inroads into the adjacent provinces of Abyſſinia. Thoſe who inhabit that territory are fierce, warlike, and cruel, like all the reſt; only they that live near the ſea, have embraced Mohammediſm, and ſubſiſt more by trade than plunder. Their prince is rich, and ſo powerful, that he obliges the baſha of Swaken, which lieth over againſt his dominions, to yield him one half of the cuſtoms of that iſland. He hath plenty of gold and ſilver, and abundance of fine larges horſes [b]. According to Mr. Ludolph's map, the river Habeſh, or Hawaſh, which comes down from the confines of Shewah, croſſes his territories, and, continuing its courſe eaſtward, loſes itſelf in the ſandy deſerts of the kingdom of Adel. *Hawaſh river.*

The kingdom of Dekim, or Deghim, which lies between that of Balu, on the weſt, and Dancali, on the eaſt, is ſtill more unknown.

Dancali, or Dancale and Dangales, is likewiſe ſituate on the Red Sea, between Dekim, on the weſt, and Adel on the eaſt. Its extent, along the coaſt, is but ſmall, whatever it may be towards the inland, and is neither well cultivated or inhabited. The king of it is a Mahommedan, but in ſtrict alliance and friendſhip with, or, tributary to the Abyſſinian emperor: he muſt, in all likelihood, be dependent alſo on the grand ſignor, who is maſter of all this coaſt. His kingdom abounds in mines of ſalt, of which vaſt quantities are made, and a great traffic carried on, both into the inland parts, and on the Red Sea. Its chief ſea-port is that of Baliur, or Balyur, which ſtands at about fourteen hours diſtance, weſt, of Babel Mandel. It was here the Abyſſinian patriarch, with his Jeſuits and Portugueſe, firſt landed, and were received by the cheyk with great civility, the emperor having choſen that port for their landing, and given proper orders for their reception. *Kingdom of Dancali.* *Port of Balyur.* *Portugueſe land at it.*

The king ſent to invite the patriarch, and his retinue, to his court, which was about three or four days journey from *Their reception from the king.*

[b] Lobo's Relat. d'Abiſſin. p. 38.

Baliur,

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Baliur, and diſpatched his own ſon to conduct them to the royal palace, or rather camp, which they found to conſiſt only of half a dozen tents, about a ſcore huts, fenced about with a thorn hedge, and ſhaded by ſome wild trees. Near the palace is a river, which, in winter, is very full and rapid; but it being then ſummer, was quite dried, and had no water but what was digged for, at the bottom of channel, or bed.

The hall of audience was a large tent, or hut, about a muſket-ſhot from the reſt. Two of them are for his own uſe; the other four are for his mother, brothers, and chief officers. The preſence-hall had, at the upper end, a kind of throne, compoſed only of ſtones and clay, covered with a carpet, and two velvet cuſhions. At the other end, facing the throne, was his majeſty's horſe, with the ſaddle and other accoutrements ſuſpended on one ſide; it being the cuſtom of this country for the maſter and horſe to lie together. Around the hall were about half a hundred young men, ſitting croſs-legged on the ground; and the Portugueſe ambaſſadors were ſeated in the ſame poſture.

Dreſs. The king was preceded by ſome of his domeſtics, one of whom carried an earthen pitcher, full of hydromel, another held a drinking cup, made of porcelane; a third had a cocoa-nut ſhell, filled with tobacco; a fourth a ſilver tobacco-pipe, and ſome fire. Next came the king, dreſſed in a light ſilk ſtuff, with a turban on his head, from the rims of which hung a parcel of rings, nicely wrought, which dangled before his forehead: he held in his hand a ſhort kind of javelin, inſtead of a ſceptre, and was followed by all the chief officers of his court and houſhold; among them his lord high ſteward, the ſuperintendent of his finances, and the captain of his guard. At his coming in, the ſtrangers ſtood up, and ſquatted down again twice; then advanced towards the throne to kiſs his hand. The audience was ſhort, but full of the moſt bombaſtic profeſſions of love and eſteem on his ſide, and of reſpect and gratitude on their's; but this behaviour ſoon altered, when, next morning, they came to make their preſents. Inſtead of acceptance, our author, who brought them to him, met with a ſevere repulſe and reprimand, for daring to affront a monarch like him with ſuch trifling preſents, and was ordered to take them away out of his ſight. Our Jeſuit readily obeyed, without betraying either fear or any other emotion than that of diſdain, after having given him to underſtand, that they were

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were of more value than he ought to have expected from religious perſons, who had renounced the world, and forſaken their native country, for the ſake of carrying their religion into the Abyſſinian empire.

The king, though ſurpriſed at his rough compliment, let him go away with them; but, being unwilling to loſe them, ſent one of his officers to fetch them back, with orders to inſiſt upon ſome addition; but he was glad to take them as they were, the good father, on his ſide, inſiſting upon retrenching ſome part; ſo that when they were brought again, the greedy monarch received them with viſible marks of diſſatisfaction and reſentment; and it was not long before he made the Jeſuits feel the effects of it, not only by detaining them, upon ſome pretence or other, longer at his court than was neceſſary for getting things ready for their departure, but by privately forbidding his ſubjects to ſell them any kinds of proviſions, at any price; ſo that they muſt have been obliged either to ſatiate his greedineſs with larger gifts; or would have been in danger of ſtarving, had not the good father reſumed his high tone with him, and, partly by the keeneſt expoſtulations, and partly by threatening him with the emperor's reſentment, brought him to comply with the patriarch's demands, and uſe them with more humanity. He, nevertheleſs, found means to put off their departure from day to day, and ſuffered them to be chagrined and inſulted by his ſubjects, in hopes of finding ſome pretence for extorting farther preſents for their diſmiſſion: at length they could find no better expedient than to bribe one of his favourite miniſters with a valuable gift, who, quickly after, obtained their audience of leave, with ſupplies of carriages and proviſions, to proceed on their embaſſy to the Abyſſinian court. Neither was it poſſible to get rid of that of Dancali, till they had extended their largeſſes to all that belonged to it, from the higheſt officers, down to the moſt menial ſervants and camel-drivers [c].

Other towns.

This ſmall kingdom hath ſome conſiderable towns beſides the port of Balyur, the moſt conſiderable of which is Vella, or, more probably Leila, another port on the Red Sea. The other towns are Korkora and Manadeli [d], where they have ſome manufactures of linen and cotton, with which they traffick with the Negroes. The river

[c] Lobo, ubi ſupra, p. 50, & ſeq. De Liſle Atlas, Dapper.

[d] La Croix Africa, lib. iii.

Hawaſh,

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Hawash, or Hanazo, has its rise at some of the mountains on the south; then running north-eastward, waters the kingdoms of Dawaro and Adel, and there is swallowed up in the quick-sands; but the country is barren, dry, and sandy, producing no kind of food for cattle, excepting only leaves. It labours under great scarcity of water, and that which their wells afford is brackish and unwholsome [f]. The inhabitants are Moors, consequently lazy and indigent, fearful and diffident of all the Europeans, and especially the Portuguese.

SECT. II.

The History of the Country of Ajan, or Axan; and of the Kingdoms and States belonging to it.

The coasts of Ajan described.

THIS large tract of land, which extends on the north, along the southern coast of the gulph of Babel Mandel, quite to the utmost verge of Africa on that side, or to the cape called Guardafuy; and on the eastern side, from the said cape, on the 12th deg. north latitude, quite to the equinoxial line, which divides this last coast from that of Zanguebar, was once contiguous to, if not wholly a part of, the Abyssinian empire; though long since not only dismembered from it, and divided into several kingdoms, but even parted from it by the Gallas, Gaffates, and other barbarous nations, which are settled between them: and this may be the reason why the Arabs still give to these coasts the name of Abex, or Habex, or Abyssinia: though others give them that of Ajan, or, as the Portuguese write it, Axan. Upon the whole, the last name doth not so much imply the name of a particular kingdom, as most geographers would intimate, as a general appellation of a maritime tract containing several petty kingdoms and states; the principal of which are, the kingdoms of Adel or Zeila, Magadoxo or Madagoxo, on the coasts, and some others inland, little known to us but by their names; and, lastly, and, what we mention for its singularity in those parts, the republic of Brava [g].

Kingdoms belonging to it.

The generality of geographers have added the kingdom of Adea within the country of Ajad, and place it near that of Magadoxo; but this is altogether imaginary. All

[f] Iidem ibid. Ludolph, Ethiop. lib. i. cap. 2. n. 11. [g] Marmol. Afric. lib. x. cap. 10. Sanut. lib. xii. Davity, Dapper, & al.

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the eastern coast of Ajan is affirmed to be a mere sandy and barren tract, producing neither corn, grain, fruit, nor any animal, but wild beasts; for which reason it is most commonly called the desert coast: but as you advance farther northward, and along the northern coast, we meet with a very fertile country, producing great plenty of all sorts of provision, in which it drives a great commerce, and more particularly in an excellent breed of horses, in great request, which foreign merchants take in great numbers, in exchange for silks, cottons, and other cloths. *Soil.* *Produce.* *Commerce.*

The inhabitants along this last coast are mostly white, with long lank hair; but grow more tawny, or even quite black, as we proceed towards the south. Here are plenty of negroes, who live and intermarry with the Bedowin Arabs, and carry on a great commerce with them, consisting in gold, slaves, horses, and ivory, which they commonly bring from Abyssinia, whither they repair from time to time, for the sake of plunder. As they are all either zealous Mohammedans, or Bedowins, an idolatrous and superstitious sect among the Arabs, so they are alike enemies to the Abyssinians, who are all Christians; and the frequent inroads they make upon them renders them warlike and stout; but all of them, especially the Bedowins, are arrant thieves; more particularly those who live nearest to the trading coasts [b]. Let us now take a view of those kingdoms which are included within this tract, beginning with that of Adel, as the most considerable, and best known. *Inhabitants.* *Religion.* *Manners.*

SECT. III.

The History of the Kingdom of Adel, or Zeila.

Of all the neighbouring enemies which the Abyssinian monarchs have had for some centuries past, the king of Adel hath been the most powerful and inveterate. On account of religion, both he and his subjects being zealous Mohammedans, not only cultivated, but carefully intailed the bitter rancour on his successors against the Abyssinians and their faith; and this animosity increased still more, from the time that these emperors applied to the Portuguese for help, and were enabled, by their superior

[b] Idem. ibid. Somma regn. Axan. tr. 3. ap. Davity, Magin. Geogr. & al.

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skill and valour, to give their Mohammedan enemies several considerable overthrows, of which we have given an account in the preceding chapter [h].

Their resentment against the Abyssinian emperors, and hatred to the Portuguese.

But nothing did so effectually alarm and confirm the Adelite princes, and their allies, in their jealousy and resentment against the Ethiopic court, as that mean and unworthy offer of the emperor above-mentioned to submit the Abyssinian church to the authority of the Roman see, which they doubted not would infallibly engage all the Christians, that is, as they imagined, all the European powers to their assistance, to destroy, at once, Mohammedism and heathenish superstition, and reduce all their dominions under the Ethiopic yoke. They had many smarting proofs of the superiority of the Portuguese, in point of valour and martial discipline; and it was become an usual saying, among their dastardly troops, and those of their allies, that those new-comers were not men, but devils incarnate. If such a small army of them, scarcely amounting to three hundred, could perform such unheard of exploits in favour of the Abyssinian monarchs, what could they expect from the united forces of all the Europeans princes, but unavoidable destruction? What method, therefore, was more likely to ward off so fatal a blow, than this king's engaging all his allies, and other powers far and near, who were equally threatened with the same ruin, to join his forces; and exert the utmost caution and vigilance, to stop every avenue to their respective dominions against all strangers whatsoever. These measures were so effectually taken, that if the alliance between the Abyssinian monarch and the European powers had taken place, and these last had thought fit to send a reinforcement of men and arms, they would have found it extremely difficult to land them upon any part of the sea coast, and altogether impracticable to penetrate from thence into the empire of Abyssinia.

Situation.

Boundaries.

The kingdom of Adel, so called from its metropolis, and Zeila, from another eminent sea-port of that kingdom, is situate along the southern coast of the Red Sea, which bounds it on the north; from the streights of Mean, or Babel Mandel on the west; to cape Guardafuy, on the east, which is the utmost verge of this coast, on this side, from which it begins to wind south-west, along the Indian sea, by which it is bounded on the east. Its limits on the south extend to the kingdom of Magadoxo,

[h] Ibid. p. 826, & seq. 239, & seq.

from

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from which it is divided by the river of that name, and on the weſt hath the Gallas or Callas, the kingdoms of Bali, Dovaro, and Dancali. Its full extent, on either ſide, is not certainly known; the longeſt is along the coaſt, from eaſt to weſt, ſuppoſed to be about one hundred and ſixty leagues, and the leaſt, from north to ſouth, about ſeventy-two [i]. Ancient geographers, however, gave it a much larger extent, and it had, according to them, many more conſiderable provinces, which the Turkiſh conqueſts have ſince diſmembered from it, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. We meet with but an imperfect account of the inland part of the kingdom. Marmol indeed, or rather his French tranſlator [k], mentions ſix cities in it, beſides Zeila, and the two capitals Adel and Aran; viz. Bali, Doara, Comizara, Novorata, and Socel; to which a modern geographer adds three more; Auſſagurelia, ſituate on a high hill in the center of that kingdom: Barbora, in the bottom of a bay, into which the river Howacha formerly diſcharged itſelf; and Meta, on the eaſtern banks of the river Soal, on the northern coaſt [l]. The moſt conſiderable places on the eaſtern coaſt is Aſum, or Aſion, a ſmall town, abounding with proviſions and other refreſhments for mariners; but has no haven. The next is cape Guardafuy, ſuppoſed to be the Aromata of Ptolemy; it lies north of Aſum about twelve degrees and half of latitude, over againſt the iſland of Sucotra, or Zocotera, in Arabia Felix. Turning ſouth-weſtward from the ſaid cape, we meet with the town of Salin, the ancient Moſilon of Ptolemy; then Barbora, Metha, and, laſt of all, Zeila, ſaid to be the fineſt and richeſt in that kingdom [m]. *Metropolis and other towns.*

Zeila is ſeated in a ſpacious bay, juſt without the ſtreights of Babel Mandel, and, from its ſituation, ſeems to be the Avarita of Ptolemy. It retains ſtill ſome noble relicks of its ancient ſplendor. The houſes are built of ſtone and mortar, the ſtreets wide and regular; its haven is very commodious, and well frequented. Zeila is populous, and carries on a conſiderable commerce, it being the place through which the greateſt part of the merchandizes, which are carried into the Abyſſinian empire, commonly paſs, as well as thoſe which are conſumed in the *Zeila deſcribed.*

[i] Sanut, Marmol, Davity, Dapper, Afric. & al. [k] Afriq. lib. x. cap. 7. [l] La Martiniere ſub Adel. Marmol, lib. x. cap. 7. De la Croix, vol. iv. cap. 11. [m] Sanut, Marmol, & al. ſupra citat.

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kingdom of Adel; the revenue of which is so considerable, that its kings are often at war with those of Aden about it; upon which account the former keeps constantly a strong garrison in it; but more particularly on account of its being the chief place by which the European missionaries endeavour to get into Abyssinia; and here it was that two of them, namely, Franc. Muchado and Bernard Ferreira, having attempted to land with that design, were apprehended and put to death, anno 1624, by order of the king of Adel.

Commodities in, and exports.

This sea-port had indeed, at that time, all the advantages of commerce over that of Aden, till the arrival of the Portuguese fleet, in the year 1517, which utterly destroyed it: since which time Aden hath gained that advantage. Here was, however, some considerable traffic carried on by the Arabs, who brought hither Negro slaves, elephants teeth, gold dust, meyron, and other gums, which they bought in Abyssinia, and sold to the merchants that went thither from other parts to purchase them.

Want of water.

The territory about Zeila is rich and fertile, if we may believe Marmol; but Davity represents it as dry, sandy, and barren, and so destitute of water, that the inhabitants are obliged to go two days journey for it[n]. Much of the same nature is the whole canton it belongs to; in which, however, we are told there are two other cities, named Dalaca aad Malaca, but nothing further relating to them.

The next city of note is Barbora, situate at the bottom of a convenient bay, on an island of its name, but called by De Lisle, Alondi. It hath been all along a kind of rival in commerce to Zeila, and is no less resorted to by foreign merchants, who carry on much the same traffic. It is situate over against the city of Aden, and made once a considerable figure, but was plundered and burnt by the Portuguese fleet, anno 1518. They expected to find a considerable spoil in it, but were happily disappointed, the inhabitants having had time enough before-hand to convey themselves and their most valuable effects away. The island, which is almost contiguous to the Terra Firma, is very fertile, and produces plenty of corn, fruits, and cattle, great part of which is exported, by the same merchants, into other countries. The other parts of the kingdom of Adel being mostly flat, they have seldom any

[n] Marmol, ibid. cap. 8. Dapper, & al.

rains;

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rains; but that defect is abundantly supplied by the rivers which run through it in great plenty.

Rivers. There is one among the rest, named the Hawash, which coming down from the Abyssinian mountains, on the confines of the provinces of Xaoa and Ogge, receives some other rivers into it, and takes a considerable circuit before it reaches the kingdom of Adel. It is called Kimanci; is very broad and deep, and hardly inferior to the Nile, excepting in the length of its course; for it hath scarce run six miles through it, before the inhabitants divide it into such a great number of canals, that it is, in some measure, exhausted before it reaches the sea. These canals render the country so rich in grain, fruits, and other provisions, that part of its produce is conveyed into other neighbouring kingdoms, especially those of Aden and Zeiden. They have plenty of wheat, barley, and millet; they have variety of sheep, cows, and other beasts. Some of their sheep, like those of Syria and Arabia, have large tails, which commonly weigh between twenty and thirty pounds[a].

Soil.

Produce.

Inroads into Abyssinia. But their chief traffic consists in gold-dust, elephants teeth, frankincense, and Negro slaves; all which they fetch chiefly from Abyssinia, with whom they are continually at war. They miss no opportunities of making inroads into some of their provinces, from whence they seldom return without great quantities of all that kind of plunder. This is afterwards conveyed to the port of Zeila, where they never fail of meeting with merchants from Arabia, Camboya, and other parts, ready to purchase it by barter, for cloths of cotton, silk, and linen, of various sorts; collars, bracelets, and other ornaments, of amber, crystal, and other materials; dates, raisins, fire-arms, Arabian horses, and other such commodities.

Inhabitants described. The Adelites are stout and warlike, and fight with surprising intrepidity against the Abyssinians, as well out of zeal for religion, as in hopes of plunder; the former being all staunch Mohammedans, and the latter a pusillanimous sort of Christians, in no-wise equal to them either in valour or discipline. The Abyssinians, especially in the remote parts, have no other weapons but bows and arrows, lances, and javelins, all wretchedly fabricated; nay, the ordinary sort among them have hardly any thing better than long staves, sharp pointed, and hardened in the fire, to fence against their enemies; whereas the

[a] Marmol, Davity, al. ubi supra.

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Adelites are furnished, by the Turks and Arabs, with variety of fire-arms. Their complexion, along the northern coast, is of a tawny brown; but the farther we proceed towards the southern parts, the more we find them draw towards a downright black. Their dress chiefly consists of a cotton piece of cloth, which covers them only from the girdle to a little below the knee, all the rest of their body being naked; except the king, and nobles of both sexes, who wear a kind of loose garment, which covers the whole body, and a cap over the head: all the rest go bare-headed and bare-foot. They are, however, very fond, the women especially, of adorning their necks, arms, wrists, and ankles, with bracelets of glass, amber, and other such trinkets.

By whom first founded.

This kingdom was founded by one of the princes of the blood of the imperial family of Abyssinia, named Salatru, who having found means to escape out of the rocky prison, in which these unhappy princes were confined[p], took refuge in this province of Adel, and put himself under the protection of the king of Zeila, who, soon after, gave him his only daughter in marriage, upon his turning Mohammedan. It was by his assistance that he made himself master of the first, and, after his death, succeeded him in the other, and made of both one kingdom. This prince became a most inveterate enemy to all Christians, was continually at war with some of them, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Portuguese, upon their landing at his old capital of Zeila, which they plundered and burnt[q].

Suarez, who commanded this fleet, having dispatched some of his ships in quest of provision without success, resolved to sail to Zeila, then very rich and populous; but, to his great surprize, found it deserted by its inhabitants, who carried off all their valuable effects, and left only a good garrison for its defence. The Portuguese unanimously agreed to storm it, as it had neither walls, towers, or any other fortifications. They landed, accordingly, some of their forces, who stood drawn up in arms along the shore, expecting, with impatience, the rest, which Suarez was to send after them; but as he did not dispatch them so soon as they expected, they resolved to enter it sword in hand. Having accordingly mastered one part, and repulsed the other, they fell a plundering

[p] Lettr. di Andr. Consali. [q] Codidgo de reb. Abyssin. lib. ii. Osorio, Portuguese Conquests, & al.

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the houſes, and carried off a conſiderable quantity of proviſions, the beſt part of which they ſent on board the fleet, and deſtroyed the reſt, together with the city, which they ſet on fire, and reduced to aſhes. We have hinted above that the new king of Adel was defeated, and narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner by them about this time[r]; but whether it was at the plundering of Zeila, or at ſome other encounter, we cannot be certain. However, what we have here related is more than ſufficient to juſtify his rancour and reſentment againſt them. *Salatru defeated by the Portugueſe.*

His ſucceſſor, commonly called Granha, or Grainhe, was a prince who inherited the moſt irreconcileable hatred againſt the Chriſtians in general, but more particularly againſt the Portugueſe; and we may add, who proved one of the moſt formidable enemies they had to encounter after their landing in theſe parts, and put their valour and politics to the ſevereſt proof. Being timely appriſed of their fleet's approach, he had taken all neceſſary precautions, and given the proper orders to his officers, in what manner to act againſt ſuch of them as ſhould venture within their reach. Accordingly, the firſt who fell a ſacrifice to his revenge, was a company of about ſixty deſerters, who having left their fleet, and gained the ſhore in a boat, unhappily landed in ſome creek near the port of Zeila, where they found themſelves ſoon after ready to periſh with heat and drought. One of the king's commanders ſent them word, that if they would deliver up their arms, he would immediately ſupply them with water, victuals, and other neceſſaries. Their deſperate condition not permitting them to heſitate about his offer, they readily complied, which they had no ſooner done, than he ordered them all to be butchered on the ſpot[s]. *Succeeded by Granha.* *Cruel ſtratagem againſt them.*

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting, the admiral of the Portugueſe fleet ſent a galley to Arkico, to exchange a thouſand ells of cotton cloth for a certain quantity of beeves, and other proviſions. The bargain being made, the cattle were ſeized by a bahrnagaſh, named Nero, belonging to the king of Adel, as they were driving them by land from Arkico to the place where the Portugueſe veſſels were waiting to receive them. Immediately after which capture, the bahrnagaſh diſpatched one of his captains to tell the Portugueſe commander, that the king his maſter was now in poſſeſſion of the whole Abyſſinian em-

[r] See Davity, and the authors cited by him. [s] Bermud. Relat. apud Purch. Pilgr. lib. vii. cap. 7. p. 1149, & ſeq.

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pire, which he had lately conquered from the negus, or *emperor*, and to invite the Portugueſe to conclude a treaty of peace and commerce with him, aſſuring them, that they ſhould be ſupplied from thence with plenty of gold, ſlaves, ivory, myrrh, and other valuable drugs, ſufficient to carry on a very profitable traffic; whilſt he on his part would take care to furniſh them with what proviſions they wanted, and at the ſame time reſtore to them the cattle he had ſeized, and make them full ſatisfaction for the ſixty deſerters he had put to death.

The Turkiſh bahrnagaſh outwitted by the Portugueſe.

Here the good patriarch Bermudez failed not to caution the Portugueſe captain againſt relying on the fair offers of the treacherous bahrnagaſh, and to adviſe him to uſe art againſt art, and to outwit him in his own way; the reſult of which advice was, that they ſent him a preſent of a barrel of wine, and a freſh quantity of cotton cloth, in exchange for a new ſupply of cattle and proviſions. They ſaid, as to the ſixty deſerters, they had met with a due puniſhment for their treachery; and as to the propoſed treaty of peace and commerce, it being then the holy week, they were not permitted to treat about it, but would apply themſelves entirely to it as ſoon as the holy days were ended.

The captain, purſuant to the ſame advice, forbad any long-boat to go aſhore, leſt any of them ſhould betray his deſign; at the ſame time he ordered his ſoldiers to hold themſelves ready to get on board the light veſſels belonging to the fleet, with all poſſible ſecreſy, and without any lights, to prevent their being diſcovered. Their meaſures being thus taken, captain Martin Corea, at the head of ſix hundred armed men, went on ſhore about ten at night, and ſeized on all the avenues at which the enemy might eſcape. In this deſcent ſome of the Turks and Fartaks were ſlain, and part of their baggage ſeized, Corea not having had time to ſecure a ſufficient quantity of carriages. The bahrnagaſh obſerving that the king his maſter betook himſelf to flight, marched directly againſt the Portugueſe, and was no ſooner known than he was ſhot to death by a Portugueſe markſman, whilſt a number of Turks, both on foot and horſeback, coming to his reſcue, were part cut in pieces, and the reſt put to flight. Corea and the patriarch ſent the head of the bahrnagaſh to the empreſs of Abyſſinia, with an account of their ſucceſsful deſcent, and firſt defeat of her enemy the king of Adel. She received both with no ſmall joy, and diſpatched ſoon after

The bahrnagaſh ſlain.

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after one of her chief noblemen to congratulate them upon their victory.

This glorious beginning, which at once freed them from the hoſtile deſigns of the Mohammedan bahrnagaſh, opened a way to their troops through the territories of the Adelite monarch, and gave ſo early a proof of the ſuperior valour of the Portugueſe, as excited a good number of young gentlemen in the viceroy's fleet to liſt as volunteers in this Abyſſinian expedition. He not only readily complied with their requeſt, but begged of the patriarch Bermudez to admit into that number his own brother, the brave Don Chriſtopher de Gama, and recommended him as a proper perſon to command this little army. It conſiſted only of four hundred men, well armed, diſciplined after the European manner, with a few field-pieces; but was conſiderably augmented by the number of theſe volunteers and their ſervants.

Don Chriſtopher de Gama general of the Portugueſe.

The diſcomfited king had no ſooner recovered himſelf from his panic, than he collected all his forces, as well as thoſe of his allies, reſolving, at all hazards, to obſtruct the paſſage of the little Portugueſe army through his dominions into thoſe of Abyſſinia. But whilſt theſe preparations were making to ſtop their progreſs, the enemy had not only gained the city of Dewarwa, belonging to the Abyſſinians, where the bahrnagaſh, who commanded in the province, had furniſhed them with plenty of proviſions, carriages, and other conveniencies for their march, by order of the empreſs, who was come thither to meet and accompany them; but had already proceeded about eight days journey through a very rough and rocky territory, which the king of Adel had lately conquered from the Abyſſinians, and arrived at a fine ſpacious plain, full of Chriſtian inhabitants, who then groaning under a Mohammedan yoke, readily ſubmitted to Don Chriſtopher. He had not marched above three days through their territories, and encamped on a pleaſant ſpot near a ſpring of freſh water, before they received a haughty meſſage from the king of Adel, to enquire who they were, whither, and on what errand bound, and to inform them that thoſe kingdoms, through which they had paſſed, were become his by right of conqueſt; but nevertheleſs to tell them, that ſeeing they had preſumed to penetrate ſo far, if they would conſent to liſt in his ſervice, they ſhould not only be received as friends and allies, but be moreover enriched with lands, penſions, and preferments, ſuitable to their reſpective ſtations; but if they refuſed his offers, he ordered

Granha's haughty meſſage to him.

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dered them immediately to depart out of his dominions, otherwise they should be treated as invaders, and cut to pieces.

Gama's answer to it.

The answer which Don Christopher sent back to the Adelite king was such as became his birth and station, and expressed a singular contempt of that prince, as well as of his offers and threats. He gave the Mohammedan to understand, that he was a general of the king of Portugal's forces, sent thither with express orders from him to restore the Abyssinian empire to its pristine state, and to recover those kingdoms and provinces which his invading arms had dismembered from it. This answer, joined to the contemptuous presents he sent with it, soon determined the Mooriſh king to come to an engagement, in which he appeared at the head of one thousand horse, five thousand foot, besides fifty Turkish musqueteers, and the same number of archers. We shall not repeat here what we have elsewhere related concerning the disposition, success, and other particulars of this action, in which both sides engaged with such fury, that both generals were wounded, but the Mooriſh the more dangerously; he had his horse killed under him, and received a shot in his leg from a carbine, aimed directly at him by one of the Portuguese marksmen[n]. This proved a lucky incident for the Portuguese, whose commander was likewise wounded in the leg, though not dismounted. The Mooriſh army had then surrounded them so closely on all sides, and were so much superior in number, that in all probability they would have overpowered the Portuguese, had not the fall of their general, and his being obliged to retire to a neighbouring hill to have his wound dressed, so far disconcerted them, that they immediately faced about, and followed their commander. This at least is the account which a cousin-german of the Abyssinian bahrnagash, who, upon the reduction of that province by the Moors, had apostatized to Mohammedism, gave to the patriarch and Portuguese general, upon his coming to congratulate them on the next day upon their signal victory and unexpected success.

Engagement between them.

The Portuguese gain the victory.

This person engaged for himself, and all that were under his government, that they should henceforward renounce Mohammedism, and pay the same tribute to their lawful prince, as they did to their Mooriſh conqueror; after which engagement he went immediately to his own

[n] Ibid. p. 226, & seq. vide & Bermud. Tellez, & al. sup. citat.

territory,

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territory, from whence he ſent them a plentiful ſupply of cattle and other proviſions. The Portugueſe were the more ready to agree to his own offers, as there was a famine through all the country, and their camp had already felt the effects of it ſo far, that it being then the ſeaſon of Lent, they had been obliged to obtain a diſpenſation from the patriarch for eating fleſh, and even to kill ſome of their beaſts of burthen for their ſubſiſtence.

Lent was ſcarce over, and the two chief commanders cured of their wounds, when Granhe ſent a freſh meſſage to Don Chriſtopher, adviſing him to get himſelf in readineſs, for that he deſigned to pay him a viſit ſooner than he expected. He did ſo accordingly, with the very flower of his horſe and foot, which amounted to double their former number. The empreſs would have gladly left the Portugueſe camp, and fled to ſome place of ſafety, and had prevailed upon the patriarch to accompany her, but Don Chriſtopher, who foreſaw that his flight would not fail of diſheartening his ſmall army, obliged him to return, and be at hand to give them his bleſſing before they engaged.

A freſh engagement ſoon after.

Next morning, by break of day, both armies began their march, and met on a plain, where the Moors made the firſt attack, having ſurrounded the Portugueſe on every ſide. The onſet was furious on both ſides; but the fire of the Portugueſe artillery did ſuch execution, that the enemy quickly gave way, and were no leſs annoyed in their retreat; for the Portugueſe had taken care, before the armies engaged, to ſtrew the ground with a great quantity of gunpowder in the highways and lanes through which they retired. This being ſet on fire, a great number of thoſe poor wretches had their legs and feet terribly ſcorched and burnt, their light cotton garments conſumed, and themſelvss ſtifled by the ſmoke and ſtench. Being wholly ignorant of the cauſe, they imputed the dire effect to ſome infernal power, which helped to complete their confuſion. By theſe means the field of battle was ſoon covered with dead and wounded; whereas, the continual diſcharge of the Mooriſh fire-arms and arrows, had done no other execution on the enemy than killing about twenty of their men, among whom was their head cannoneer.

Granhe forced to retreat with great loſs.

At length both horſe and foot gave way: Granhe retreated to a neighbouring hill, and once more left the enemy in poſſeſſion of the field of battle. The victors, finding it impoſſible to overtake them, returned, and

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and pillaged their camp, in which they found very conſiderable ſpoil [w].

He had indeed, in this laſt defeat, loſt ſo great a number of men and horſes, that he was obliged to apply to the Grand Signor, to whom he paid a kind of homage and tribute, for a freſh ſupply of both. The more effectually to obtain it, he ſent a very conſiderable quantity of gold to the Porte, and another to Zebid the baſha, who then commanded in the neighbouring government. Mean while he kept himſelf encamped on an advantageous hill, with the broken remains of his army; whilſt the Portugueſe, to avoid being ſurpriſed by him, with much difficulty gained the top of a rocky and almoſt inacceſſible mountain, on which they found a ſpacious plain, and there fortified their ſmall camp.

Prepares to re-engage the enemy.

No ſooner had the Adelite king received the reinforcement from Zebid, conſiſting of ſix hundred Turks and two hundred Moors on horſeback, ſome ſay a thouſand arquebuſiers, and ten pieces of field cannon, than he reſolved at all hazards to attack the enemy's entrenchments; whilſt Don Chriſtopher, who did not think that ſituation ſafe enough, was gone at the head of a detachment to take poſſeſſion of another and higher mountain, inhabited by Jews, and guarded by a Mooriſh garriſon of a hundred and fifty men, commanded by an officer of the Adelite king. Him Don Chriſtopher attacked and defeated. He was, however, ſoon obliged to march back to the aſſiſtance of his army, which ſent him word of the approach of the Moors, who were already encamped at the foot of that high mountain.

At Don Chriſtopher's return, a propoſal was made in council, and approved by much the greater majority, to ſurpriſe the Mooriſh camp in the dead of night, as the only expedient they had left to get out of their territories, and to ſave their handful of men againſt ſo ſuperior a force. But that young warrior, ſcorning to take ſuch a diſhonourable advantage, peremptorily refuſed to fall on him till break of day. The conſequence of which raſh reſolution was their total defeat, and the loſs of their brave commander; who being deſperately wounded, and ſoon after diſcovered and taken by the Moors, was brought to their camp; where Granhe, having, in vain, tempted him to

[w] Bermudez, ubi ſupra. Tellez, Ludolph, vide & ſup. p. 228, & ſeq.

apoſtatize,

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apoſtatize, being at length enraged at his conſtancy and ſingular valour, cauſed him to be conducted to the field of battle, and there beheaded in the manner we have related in the Abyſſinian hiſtory. Grainhe harraſſed the remaining Portugueſe in their march as far as the Nile, near the place where it falls into the lake Dembea. At laſt, they were met by the young Abyſſinian emperor, who gave them a moſt gracious reception, and with their aſſiſtance reſolved to recover ſome of the provinces, which Granhe had conquered. This officer, on his part, had taken all proper precautions to make a moſt vigorous oppoſition, and lay encamped on a ſpacious plain, having a very high and difficult mountain between him and the Abyſſinian army. He did not guard the paſſes againſt them, but truſted to a ſtratagem, which he thought would ruin them effectually. The Portugueſe and Abyſſins, having with great difficulty gained the top of the mountain, were not a little ſurpriſed to find it altogether abandoned by its inhabitants, who ſeemed to have retired with precipitation, as they had left a quantity of proviſions, and particularly of wine. But, to their great ſurpriſe, they found them all poiſoned; and it was happy for them, that the effects of it were ſo ſoon felt as to give timely warning to the reſt; for as many of them as had ventured to taſte, died ſo quickly, that the plot was diſcovered, and all the proviſions deſtroyed. They encamped all night on the ſummit, and next day had a full view of the Mooriſh army, which had advanced to the foot of the mountain, and was ſo near, as to inſult the Portugueſe and Abyſſinians with execrations, menaces, and reproach.

Put to death by Grainhe.

Purſues the Portugueſe.

Forming a bloody ſtratagem againſt them.

Theſe threats ſo far intimidated the young prince and his puſillanimous ſoldiers, that they would gladly have avoided an engagement; but they were in ſome meaſure forced to follow the Portugueſe in their deſcent, leſt they ſhould have been abandoned by theſe auxiliaries. Grainhe no ſooner obſerved them approaching, than he appeared at the head of his army, mounted on a ſtately white horſe, with a Turk on each ſide. The Portugueſe, who led the van, ſuffered him to advance towards them, till he was near enough to be within muſket-ſhot; when one of their experteſt markſmen fired at him, and laid him dead, to the great ſurpriſe and terror of his Mooriſh troops. His two Turks were likewiſe killed; and the next diſcharge made ſuch execution among them, that the whole Mooriſh army was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion.

His threats againſt them and the emperor.

Is ſlain by a markſman.

The

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The Turks and Moors put to flight.

The Abyſſine troops, which had ſtood aloof, now ventured to fall upon the diſconcerted Moors, and helped their brave auxiliaries to gain a complete victory. Both the field of battle and the camp were quickly abandoned by Turks and Moors, and plundered by the victors; as was ſoon after the whole province of Dembea, from which they likewiſe brought away the richeſt ſpoils, and a great number of priſoners, both Turks and Moors, including the ſon of the king of Adel. His queen narrowly eſcaped, by retiring into the province of Dagoa. After this ſucceſsful action, the young emperor was eaſily induced to purſue his good fortune, and reduce ſeveral other rich kingdoms, which the king of Adel had conquered from him; all which, by the aſſiſtance of European auxiliaries, was completed to his wiſh.

The king of Adel's meſſage to the emperor.

Whilſt they were thus ſucceſsfully employed, they received a meſſage from the new king of Adel, a firm ally of the late Granhe. It was directed to the young emperor, and imported that he ſhould not be too much elated at his late victory; for he would find in him a ſucceſſor both able and willing to revenge his death; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that he would not fail paying him a warm and ſpeedy viſit. The young monarch reſolving to be beforehand with him, ordered his army to march with all diligence, in order to fall upon him by ſurprize. There being a large river between them, they ſpent the whole night in croſſing it; and this paſſage they effected with ſuch expedition and ſecreſy, that they were able to attack the enemy next morning, long before day-break. The king of Adel thus ſurpriſed beyond meaſure at their unexpected approach, reſolved to give them battle, and advanced accordingly; but was ſhot to death on the very firſt onſet. A bloody action enſued, in which many lives were loſt on both ſides; the young Abyſſinian emperor received a wound, and was in no ſmall danger of loſing his life, through the confuſion and diſorder that reigned in both armies, and the difficulty of diſtinguiſhing objects at that early hour. The Mooriſh army were no ſooner appriſed of the king of Adel's death, than they betook themſelves to an haſty flight, in which freſh numbers were ſlain by the fire of the purſuing Portugueſe, who, among other priſoners of note, brought away the lady Diana Ambura, widow to the late king of Adel, who quickly after turned Chriſtian, and was married to the Portugueſe chief, as we have formerly ſhewn.

Is ſurpriſed by him, defeated, and killed. The Moors defeated and routed.

After

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After this freſh victory, the Portugueſe, who were become terrible all over thoſe parts, and had, by this time, ſo greatly improved the Abyſſinian ſoldiery in the art of war, had a fair opportunity to eſtabliſh the emperor in all his diſmembered dominions, had that been the main end and deſign of their and the patriarch's commiſſion: whereas their order was to oblige the young monarch to make an open ſubmiſſion to the ſee of Rome; a ſtep which they now found him abſolutely determined to ward off, as long as he could, by any means, and to amuſe them, by fair promiſes and delays, till they had put him in a condition to give them an abſolute denial. Thence aroſe that irreconcilable breach between them, which deprived him of all further aſſiſtance, and expoſed him afreſh to the attempts of the Mohammedan princes, as well as to the inroads of the rebellious Gallas, Gafates, and other barbarous nations. But what hoſtilities enſued after this epocha, between the two former kingdoms and the Abyſſinian empire, or what other wars they waged againſt any other ſtate, is as much beyond our power to gueſs, as it is to give any other particular of their hiſtory.

As the fatal breach between the emperor and the patriarch ended in the total expulſion of the Portugueſe, and the ſhutting up the avenues of the empire againſt the Europeans; all further correſpondence with thoſe parts hath been ſo effectually ſtopped, (as before aſſerted) that we have been ever ſince wholly in the dark about what is tranſacted in them. Only thus much we may add, with reſpect to the kings of Adel and Aden, and the Turkiſh baſha, who commands along the coaſts of the Red Sea, that the Abyſſinian monarchs have been obliged to pay them a kind of penſion, in order to keep them more vigilant and ſevere againſt all ſtrangers, who ſhall attempt to penetrate into any part of that empire, in any diſguiſe, or under any pretence. They have ſhewn themſelves the more ſtrict and careful, as they receive the ſame expreſs commands from the grand ſignor, whoſe tributaries they are. Thoſe of Adel in particular have been, for a long time, in high favour at the Porte, and dignified with the title of ſaints, on account of their ſingular zeal, and frequent wars againſt the Chriſtians. But that ſpecious title hath not been able to ſave them from being ſtripped, by theſe ſultans, of their moſt conſiderable maritime towns on the Red Sea. So that they have now no port left, except that of Zeila, the reſt

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reſt being all in the hands of the Turks[1]: by which means they not only keep the kings of Adel cloſely ſhut up on that ſide, but lock up all poſſible intelligence from coming from thence into Europe. Here, therefore, we muſt be obliged to conclude our Adelite hiſtory.

SECT. IV.

Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Magadoxo, and the Republic of Brava.

The kingdom of Magadoxo.

THE next conſiderable kingdom along theſe coaſts of Ajan, is that of Magadoxo, or, as it is indifferently ſpelt, by other geographers, Madagoxo, and Magadocho, contiguous to that of Adel, extending, according to our lateſt maps, from 5 deg. 40 min. of north latitude, quite to the equinox, where the river or gulph Jubo divides the Ajan coaſt from that of Zanguebar[a]. How far it extends to the weſtward, is but mere conjecture; though the generality of geographers ſcruple not to adjuſt its limits in their maps, on that ſide, rather as their fancy leads them, than upon any other probable foundation. It hath its name from its capital, ſituate in a large bay, formed by the mouth of the river of the ſame name, which, we are told, is called by the Arabs, the Nile of Magadoxo, by reaſon of its annual overflowing.

Some authors tell us, it has its ſpring-head as far as the mountains of the kingdom of Machidas: others bring it from the Mountains of the Moon[b]. The truth is, we are ſo little acquainted with thoſe inland countries, that its head is as much unknown to us as that of the Nile formerly was. However that be, we cannot but ſuppoſe its courſe to be very long, though not, perhaps, ſo winding as the other, not only by its conſiderable channel, which forms a large convenient bay a little below the capital, but likewiſe from its regular and extenſive inundations, which fertiliſe that whole country to ſuch a degree, by the numberleſs canals which are cut from it, that it produces a great quantity of wheat and barley, variety of fruits, and breeds great numbers of horſes, oxen, ſheep, and other animals.

[1] Ramuſes, Pigafet, Marmol, Davity, Dapper, & al ſupra citat. [a] Sanut. Afric. lib. ii. cap. 12. Davity, Dapper, & al. [b] D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient.

The

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The city of Magadoxo is a place of great commerce, and vaſt reſort from the kingdoms of Aden, Camboy, and other parts; whence their merchants bring cotton, ſilk, and other cloths, ſpices, and variety of drugs, which they exchange with the inhabitants for gold, ivory, wax, and other commodities. It is chiefly inhabited by Mohammedans, who came and ſettled there in the time of the khalifs. The reſt of the inhabitants, for the moſt part, are become of the ſame religion; though there are yet a great number of Bedowin Arabs, who ſtill follow their old heatheniſh ſuperſtitions; and farther inland, a ſtill greater number of Abyſſine Chriſtians, ſubject or tributary to that empire.

The Portugueſe admiral's attempt againſt Magadoxo.

The king and his court are Mohammedans. His ſubjects, of what extract ſoever (for ſome of them are white, others tawney and olive, and others quite black) all ſpeak the Arabic tongue: they are ſtout and warlike, and, among other weapons, uſe poiſoned arrows and lances [c].

The only remarkable piece of hiſtory we meet with concerning this kingdom, is the hoſtile attempt which the Portugueſe fleet made upon its metropolis, under the command of admiral Triſtran de Cugna, as he ſailed along theſe coaſts in his way to the Indies. He had already reduced ſeveral maritime places, ſome to tribute, and others to aſhes, particularly the city of Brava, of which we ſhall ſpeak below, which he plundered and burnt, and had proceeded as far as Magadoxo, which he cauſed to be ſummoned, as uſual, to accept of peace and friendſhip, that is, in plainer terms, of ſubjection and tribute to Portugal. But here he found the inhabitants ready prepared to give him a ſuitable reception. Great numbers of foot and cuiraſſiers were patrolling along the ſhore; the walls were covered with armed men, and a conſiderable body of troops was drawn up before the town, a ſight which made Contingo, the officer ſent with the ſummons, afraid of going on ſhore; inſtead of which, he diſpatched one of the Bravan captives to aſſure the Magadoxans, that the Portugueſe came not to denounce war, but to offer peace: but they, knowing what dreadful execution had been made at the city of Brava, fell furiouſly upon the meſſenger, and tore him in pieces, and threatened to treat Contingo in the ſame manner if he offered to land; a circumſtance which obliged him to return to his admiral,

[c] Sanut, Davity, Offor. Portug. Conq. vol. i. & al. ubi ſupra.

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and acquaint him with his ill ſucceſs, and the inſolent menaces of the enemy. Cugna, in the firſt tranſport of his paſſion, reſolved to bombard and ſtorm the place, but was happily diverted from his bloody deſign, by the perſuaſion of his officers and pilots: the former repreſented to him the ſtrength of the place; and others, the extreme danger to which the ſhips would be expoſed, both from the fire of the town, and the boiſterous ſea, eſpecially as winter was then coming on, and the ſeaſon for ſailing nearly expired; ſo that, if his troops ſhould miſcarry in their attempt, their fleet and army muſt inevitably periſh: upon which he gave immediate orders for ſailing to the iſland of Socotora, where he arrived ſoon after with all his ſhips, leaving the brave Magadoxans to rejoice at their deliverance. Such is the account which their countryman, Oſſorio, biſhop of Sylves, gives of this tranſaction [d]; from which we may conclude, that this kingdom cannot be tributary to Abyſſinia, as ſome pretend; ſeeing if it had been ſo, neither would the Portugueſe have attempted its metropolis in that hoſtile manner, nor the inhabitants have repulſed them with ſuch noble reſentment.

The Republic of Brava.

Republic of Brava.

WITHIN the kingdom of Magadoxo, and on the ſouthern verge of it, was formerly founded this ſtate, the only republic we know of in all Africa, by ſeven Arabian brethren, who fled hither from the tyranny of their king Lacah, one of the petty monarchs of Arabia Felix. Here they found a moſt convenient and delightful ſituation on the ſame coaſt, bounded on each ſide by a river; upon which account Sanut affirms it to be an iſland; and properly enough might he have ſtyled it ſuch, if the two rivers which bound it were really no other than two branches of the Kilmanci, as ſome affirm, though at random [e], as we think; that river running a quite contrary way, far enough from this coaſt. Whether they be two diſtinct rivers, or only branches of one, it is likely that this republic doth not extend far inland, its chief dependence being on the great commerce of its capital of the ſame name, which is conveniently ſituated on a bay, formed by the mouth of the northern branch of that river, about the

[d] Oſſor. Conq. Port. vol. i. p. 2 6, & ſeq. Eng. edit. [e] Ramus, vol. xii. 3d edit. La Croix Afric. part iii. ſect. 10.

diſtance

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diſtance of one degree, according to our neweſt maps, from the equator.

This city is large and well-peopled, chiefly by rich merchants, the deſcendants of the ſeven Arabs lately mentioned, whoſe main traffic conſiſts in gold, ſilver, ſilk, cotton, and other cloths, elephants teeth, gums, and other drugs, particularly ambergriſe, with which this coaſt abounds. The houſes are large and well-built, in the Moreſco ſtyle, and the town ſtrong and well fortified, and accounted one of the moſt celebrated and frequented marts in the whole Habeſſan coaſt. Both the city and republic is governed by twelve cheiks, or *magiſtrates*, choſen out of the principal families of their ſeven founders above mentioned, to whom the adminiſtration of juſtice, and the management of all public affairs, are committed. The people are moſtly Mohammedans, but under the protection of the kings of Portugal, to whom they annually pay a ſmall tribute of five hundred mittigates, amounting to about four hundred French livres. This, however, they did not ſubmit to, till after they had undergone a ſevere execution from the Portugueſe fleet, bound for India, of which the ſame biſhop, Oſſorio, gives us the following account: Triſtran de Cugna, admiral of that fleet, having ſet on ſhore at Melinda three ambaſſadors, ſent by king Emanuel to the emperor of Abyſſinia, and recommended them to the care and protection of the king of it, continued his courſe northward along the coaſt, till he came to the city of Brava, ſituate about two hundred leagues from that of Melinda, and caſt anchor at the port. Here he diſpatched, according to the Portugueſe cuſtom, one of his officers, named Lionel Codingo, to wait on the heads of the republic, and offer them peace, and the friendſhip and alliance of the king his maſter. To this propoſal the cheiks anſwered, that they had no objection againſt ſuch a treaty; but, ſays our author, this was only a piece of diſſimulation, calculated to detain our people; the ſeaſon being then almoſt at hand, when ſuch boiſterous winds uſually blow in theſe parts, as would have daſhed in pieces all their ſhips, even in the very harbour. Cugna, having diſcovered the artifice, reſolved immediately to aſſault the city. Before day-break, he had drawn up his men on the ſhore, and formed them into two lines, the firſt whereof conſiſted of ſix hundred men, the command of which he gave to Alphonſo Albuquerque, whilſt he reſerved to himſelf the command of the others, which conſiſted of about ſix hundred ſoldiers.

Capital.

Traffic.

Religion.

Cugna's attempt againſt Brava.

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Brava was then garrisoned by four thousand men, half of whom immediately sallied out against them. The conflict was severe on both sides; but the Portuguese charged them with such fury, that they found themselves obliged to give ground, yet made a very regular retreat into the city, after which the gates were shut against the enemy. These immediately surrounded the place, examining, with the utmost diligence, where they could best force an entrance; but were all that time terribly annoyed from within with burning torches, and other missile weapons. In the mean time, Albuquerque, having discovered a weak part in the wall, began his attack there, but was quickly opposed by the besieged, who flocked thither with all speed, and defended it with surprising intrepidity. The contest was kept up with very great fury on both sides, when, luckily for Albuquerque, the admiral came up, at whose approach the Moors were struck with such a panic, that they fled with the greatest precipitation; whilst the Portuguese soldiers, eager for prey, would have pursued them into the city, but were restrained by their commanders. The city was presently entered, and plundered of a vast and valuable booty, which was conveyed on board their ships. Great numbers of the besieged were slain and wounded, and many of them taken prisoners, but most of these were released. The Portuguese had about fifty of their men killed, and many dangerously wounded, besides eighteen who perished in the long-boat, which, through their insatiable avarice, they had loaded so immoderately, that it overset. Nay, so enormous was the inhumanity of the Portuguese soldiers and sailors, and their eagerness after spoil, that they cut off the arms of seven women, to come at their rings and bracelets the more readily: but Cugna, having severely punished the authors of this cruelty, deterred the rest from the like barbarity. The city being thus plundered, Cugna ordered it to be set on fire, and it was quickly reduced to ashes, in the sight of the inhabitants, who stood at a small distance, beholding the dismal spectacle. Thus far Osorio's account of the catastrophe of this capital; which, by what appears in the sequel, was forced to become tributary to its destroyers, before it could recover its pristine grandeur and liberties. But when, how, and by what means, those noble Bravans were brought to submit to those harsh terms, we can no where find: for Cugna, having set it in flames, is said to have sailed immediately to Magadoxa, upon the same errand as we have already shewn.

Cruelties committed by the Portuguese.

The

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The generality of geographers unanimouſly add a third kingdom, which they call Adea, upon the coaſt of Ajan, or Habaſh, and commonly place it, with its pretended capital of the ſame name, between thoſe of Adel and Magadoxo, while ſome make this laſt to be a part of it, and the name of its capital; though Barraboa be ſaid to be the chief place of the king's reſidence; which word is of Portugueſe extract, and ſignifies, *a good coaſt*, ſituated between the two branches of the Kilmanci. They add, that, though a Mohammedan, he is tributary to the negus, or emperor of Abyſſinia [f]. *The kingdom of Adea.*

CHAP. XLV.

The Hiſtory of the principal Kingdoms on the Coaſt of Zanguebar.

THIS coaſt, ſuppoſed the Agiſimba of Ptolemy, is, by the Arabs called Zanguebar, and corruptly, by M. Paulo the Venetian, Zengobar, from the Arabic word Zengue, or Zengui, or, as Leo Africanus writes it, Zahangi, which word ſignifies *black* or *negro*; ſo that the word Zanguebar properly imports *the Coaſt of the Blacks*, or *Negroes*, all its inhabitants being of that colour, and having curled woolly hair. Its northern boundary is variouſly fixed by authors; by ſome, at the mouth of the river Kilmanci, or Quilmanci; and others as high as cape Guardafuy, in the kingdom of Adel, by which Marmol would ſeem to comprehend all the other long tract of Ajan, under the ſame general name. Whereas we have there obſerved the complexion of its inhabitants was a mixture of white, tawny, and olive, till we come almoſt under the equator, where we have fixed the boundaries between them with greater reaſon, as well as from better authority. *The coaſt of Zanguebar.*

According to theſe dimenſions, the coaſt of Zanguebar will contain the following kingdoms, rivers, bays, and other remarkable places, as the reader will find them ranged in D'Anville's map, agreeably to the lateſt diſcoveries. *Principal kingdoms.*

[f] De his vide Ramuſ. ubi ſupra, p. 249. 3d edit. La Martiniere, ſub voce Adea.

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1. The kingdom and river of Jubo. 2. The kingdom of the Abaquas. 3. The bay of Fermosa. 4. The kingdom of Sio. 5. Ampata. 6. The river of Lamo. 7. The kingdom and city of Melinda. 8. The town or fort of Quilmanca. 9. The river and kingdom of Quilifo. 10. Amaxambas de Motuapa, a town. 11. The river of Monbaca. 12. Ancinche. 13. Of Langon. 14. The country of Maraugalo. 15. Of Atundo. 16. The territory of Rafade. 17, 18, 19. The rivers called Los tres Hermanos, or *Three Brothers*. 20. Cabo Falso, or *the Deceitful Cape*. 21. The river of Enabo, or Cuavo. 22. Of Quizimajugo. 23. The kingdom of Quiloa. 24. Country of Mongedo. 25. The river of Mongalla. 26. Cabo Delgado. 27. The town of Changa. 28. The country of Macuas. 29. The town of Querimba. 30. Of Ato. 31. The river of Pembo. 32. The town and river of Sirano Capa. 33. The river Sangaya. 34. The country of the Pices. 35. River Famova. 36. Frayasesland. 37. The river Pinda. 38. Fernao Velozo.

Chief Islands. The principal islands and kingdoms situate upon the Zanguebar coast, are as follow, according to the same author: 1. The island of Mandra. 2. The isle and kingdom of Pute. 3. The isle of Illheos. 4. Isle and kingdom of Lamo. 5. Isle and city of Monbaca. 6. Isle and kingdom of Pemba. 7. Of Zanzebar. 8. Isle of Cobra. 9. The shallows of St. Roch. 10. Isle of Monsia. 11. Isle and city of Quiloa. 12. Isles of Cape Delgado. 13. Of Melinda. 14. Changa. 15. Of Macoloe. 16. Of Materno. 17. Of Obi. 18. Island and town of Querimba. 19. Isles of Fumbo. 20. Of Cabras. 21. The flats of Pindar. Thus much may suffice for a description of these coasts, for which we are chiefly indebted to the discoveries, conquests, and ravages which the Portuguese have made. As for the farther account of the several places above mentioned, we shall postpone it till we come to speak of the several kingdoms to which they belong, and therein confine ourselves only to the most remarkable and useful, of which we have the most authentic account [g].

Inland parts. As to those belonging to the inland parts, such as towns, rivers, mountains, and lakes, we are still more in the dark: we only know in general, that this whole tract is barren and unhealthy, the lands lying low, and intersected with rivers, lakes, thick woods, forests, and marshy

[g] D'Anville, Martiniere, Sanut. & al.

grounds,

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grounds. The fruits of it are very unwholeſome; their rivers, for the moſt part, covered or choaked up with weeds, buſhes, and thickets; all which ſo ſtagnate the air, and corrupt the product of the earth, and render the inhabitants ſo ſickly and indolent, that they receive little or no benefit from its produce. The Bedowin Arabs are the only people who make advantage of it, by breeding multitudes of cattle, and living moſtly upon their fleſh and milk, whilſt the Negroes, or Zanges, content themſelves with feeding upon wild beaſts and fowl, which ſwarm all over thoſe parts.

The air unwholeſome.

To ſupply the want of corn, pulſe, roots, and other wholſome food, of which they are deſtitute, the Divine Providence hath interſperſed that whole country with mines of gold, eaſily got, by the help of which they can purchaſe all the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life from other parts: but this is the very circumſtance that makes them ſo extremely jealous of letting ſtrangers penetrate into the inland; more eſpecially, ſince the Portugueſe have made themſelves maſters of ſuch a number of places along this coaſt.

Caffers, why ſo called.

They are in their nature fierce and ſtout, ignorant and brutiſh, without any religion, eſpecially the Negroes; upon which laſt account they have the name of Caffers. As for the Bedowins, they have ſome kind of religion, or, rather, obſerve a variety of ſuperſtitious rites, but are no leſs ignorant and uncivilized than the Caffers; yet they chiefly herd among themſelves, and live at a greater diſtance from the coaſts, and by the ſides of lakes and rivers, for the convenience of paſture for their numerous herds. They go all naked, both Caffers and Arabs, excepting that they wrap a piece of cotton cloth round their middle, which deſcends a little below the knee; but thoſe who live along the coaſts, and are ſomewhat more civilized, affect a little more finery in their dreſs, and, inſtead of cotton cloth, cover themſelves with the ſkins of wild beaſts, more or leſs rich, according to their rank, with the tails of animals trailing behind on the ground. They likewiſe adorn their necks, arms, and legs, with variety of beads, bugles, and other trinkets, of amber, jett, glaſs, and other materials, which they purchaſe from the merchants with their gold, furs, ivory, and other commodities. There are among theſe coaſters a great number of Mohammedans, but a much greater number ſtill among the iſlanders along this coaſt; they being, for the moſt part, deſcended from

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those Arabs who were banished out of their country, on account of their adherence to the sect of Ali, of which they still are zealous professors.

The river Quilmanci described.

This is all we know, or can insert with any certainty, concerning this long tract of Zanguebar [a]; to which we have only to add the description of the river Kilmanci, or, as the Portuguese, who have given it that name, from a fort and town built at the mouth of it, write it, Quilmanca, or Quilmanci: for though, in the list of remarkable places along this coast, which we have given a little higher, we have had occasion to mention several other rivers, yet is this the only one concerning which we can mention any thing worth our reader's notice, and that chiefly consists in the few following particulars. It hath its source near the mountain of Gravo, in the kingdom of Narea, subject to the Abyssinian empire, near a village called Bochia, or Boxa, and is one of the most considerable in all this part of Africa, especially on account of the length and vast windings; for it makes a kind of circle toward the north and east, as it were to inclose in a kind of peninsula the kingdom of Gingiro, and divides the settlement of the wild Gallas from Abyssinia; and thus far that river is called by the name of Zebea. It then winds its course through the country of the Makorites, which it leaves on the east side, crosses the equinoctial line, through those of the Mossegag Caffers, a barbarous nation; thence continuing its course along the coasts of Zanguebar, discharges itself into the ocean in the kingdom of Melinda, on the south side of the fort or town, which gives it its new name of Quilman, and is by most authors supposed to be the Rapte, mentioned by Ptolemy in his description of this coast [b]. The Abyssinians give this river the name of Obeg through some parts of its course along their territories, from a town of that name situated on its banks.

Kingdoms of Zanguebar.

It is time now to speak of the several kingdoms we have given in the list above, as belonging to this tract of Zanguebar; beginning with the kingdom and city of Melinda.

[a] Juan De Barros, lib. viii. cap. 4. Ramus. & al. pass. Sanut. lib. xi. Davity, Dapper, & al. [b] Dapper, ubi supra. La Croix, ubi supra, part. iii. cap. 9. sect. 1.

SECT.

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SECT. I.

The History of the Kingdom of Melinda.

THIS kingdom, according to the generality of the geographers, lies under the equinoctial line, and extends from the northern boundaries of Mambaſo, which they place about the 2d deg. ſouth of the river Quilmanci lately deſcribed. We are uncertain about its extent weſtward: we are only told, it is bounded on that ſide by the country of the Moſſegayts, a barbarous race of Caffers; and on the eaſt it has the weſtern ocean for its boundary; about the extent of which, we meet with no leſs diſagreement among authors: ſome of them, who include the kingdom of Mombaſo as part of that of Melinda, extend the ſea-coaſts of it quite to the Cape of Gada, which they place in the 10th deg. of ſouth latitude [c]. *Kingdom of Melinda.*

However that be, it is agreed on all hands, that theſe coaſts, eſpecially near the capital of Melinda, are exceedingly dangerous and difficult of acceſs, being full of rocks and ſhelves, and the ſea thereabouts being very often tempeſtuous at certain ſeaſons [d]. At a ſmall diſtance from the mouth of the river above mentioned, is the iſland, kingdom, and city of Lamo; whoſe king, a Mohammedan, was beheaded by the Portugueſe, anno 1589. His name was Panebaxita, and his crime, whether real or pretended, his having baſely betrayed Rock Britto, governor of the Melindan coaſt; for which he was ſeized, with four other of his Mohammedan ſubjects, in his capital, by their admiral Souſa Contingo, and carried to the next iſland and kingdom of Pate, where he was publicly executed; from which time, Lamo hath continued tributary to Portugal. *Kingdom and iſle of Lamo.*

The kingdom of Melinda is for the moſt part rich and fertile, producing almoſt all the neceſſaries of life, except wheat and rice, both which are brought thither from Cambaya and other parts; and thoſe who cannot purchaſe them, make uſe of potatoes in their ſtead, which are here fine, large, and in great plenty. They likewiſe abound with great variety of fruit-trees, roots, plants, and other eſculents, and with melons of exquiſite taſte. The country is covered with citron-trees, with whoſe odoriferous ſmell *Soil and product of Melinda.*

[c] De Liſle Atlas, Martiniere, ſub voce Melinda. [d] Oſſorio, & al. ſup. citat.

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the air is agreeably perfumed almoſt all the year. They have alſo great plenty of veniſon, game, oxen, ſheep, geeſe, hens, and other poultry; and one breed of ſheep, whoſe tails weigh, in general, between twenty and thirty pounds.

City of Melinda deſcribed.

The city of Melinda is pleaſantly ſituated in a beautiful plain, ſurrounded by fine gardens and orchards, ſtored with all ſorts of fruit-trees, eſpecially citrons and oranges. The houſes are built of ſquare ſtone, for the moſt part ſtately, and ſome even magnificent, and all of them richly furniſhed, being inhabited chiefly by rich merchants, and much reſorted to by foreigners, who drive a great commerce in gold, copper, quickſilver, ivory, wax, and drugs, which are here exchanged for ſilks, cottons, and linen cloths, corn and other commodities. The only inconvenience attending this metropolis is, that the anchorage ſtands at ſome diſtance from it, on account of the rocks and ſhelves which ſurround it towards the ſea ſide, rendering the acceſs difficult and dangerous. This city is ſuppoſed by the learned to be the Mondel mentioned by Avicenna, as the place whence they had their aloes [e].

Dreſs of men and women.

The inhabitants conſiſt of Blacks, and people of all complexions, ſwarthy, tawny, and white. The women are moſtly of an olive complexion. Their dreſs is remarkably elegant; for they never ſtir out but in fine ſilks, girt with rich gold or ſilver girdles, collars and bracelets of the ſame, or ſomething more valuable, and their heads covered with veils. The men wear a kind of turban: in other reſpects, their dreſs conſiſts of a piece of cotton wrapped about the middle, and deſcending a little below the knees; their legs, feet, and the reſt of the body, quite bare. As to the meaner ſort, as well as thoſe who live farther from the coaſts, they wear little elſe than a piece of cloth about their middle; if we except their ſhield and weapons, which are the bow and arrows, the ſcymetar and the javelin, at all which they are very expert, being reckoned the beſt and ſtouteſt ſoldiers in all that coaſt. They go to war with undaunted ſpirit, and maintain their ground with greater intrepidity than any of their neighbours; yet we are told, thoſe of the adjoining kingdom of Monbaſa would have proved too ſtrong for them, had they not been aſſiſted by the Portugueſe, to bring them into ſubjection. The Melindans are ſaid to be very cour-

[e] Odvar Barbos, Ramus, Davity, & al. Sanut, Oſſorio, Dapper, La Croix, & al. Scalig. ad lib. iv.

teous

teous and obliging, free from fraud and flattery, and live very friendly with the Portugueſe. Their language, as far as we can judge from the Lord's prayer, which Grammay hath given us in his curious collection, ſeems far enough from barbarous or diſagreeable[f]. The reader may ſee the ſpecimen in the margin (A).

Religion partly Mohammediſm and Paganiſm.

Their religion is variouſly deſcribed by authors; ſome repreſenting the people as altogether Mohammedans, and others as idolaters. The truth is, there are ſome of both religions. The Bedowans are a ſuperſtitious ignorant race of idolaters; the Negroes are for the moſt part Mohammedans, but of the Emorawidic ſect, which reject ſome parts of the Koran, following the doctrine of Zeyd the ſon of Hoſheim, a ſect not unlike that of the Sadducees among the Jews, of which, notwithſtanding, ſome of the khalifs of Babylon have made open profeſſion. As for the Roman catholics, they have been ſettled almoſt ever ſince the Portugueſe went thither. We do not however hear of any proſelytes they have made to their faith among the natives, as they have at Congo, Angola, and other parts of Africa. They content themſelves with the free exerciſe of it, and are ſo numerous in the city of Melinda, that they have built, no leſs than ſeventeen churches and chapels.

Roman catholic churches.

The government is monarchical; and in ſuch veneration is the king held by his ſubjects, that whenever he ſtirs out of his palace, he is carried in a ſedan, on the ſhoulders of four or more of the greateſt nobles of the kingdom; and incenſe and other perfumes are burned before him as he goes along the ſtreets of any city, by a great number of ladies, who come to welcome him with ſongs in his praiſe, accompanied with ſeveral kinds of muſical inſtruments; which, though not of the moſt harmonious kind, they touch with much dexterity and cadence. If he ſets out upon any expedition, whether civil or military, he appears mounted on a ſtately horſe, richly caparifoned,

[f] Oſſor. lib. i. Od. Barboſa, Pigafet, Davity, Dapper. Turſ. in Vit. Xaver.

(A) Aban ladi fiffan avari, et cades eſmoctacti mala cutoca tacuna maſcitoca choma fiſſa, me childaleca, ghlalandi cobzano chefaſona agrona fili augme agſar lena catajano nagfar ceman lena galiaca vuato tadchoſi nal lagarabe, lache nagna min ſci ratri (1).

(1) Vide Chamberlain Orat. Dominic. in C. ling.

with

with a numerous retinue, attended by great crouds of his subjects, who fill the air with their acclamations. His labis or priests meet him at his setting out with a deer, recently sacrificed, and still reaking; over which, he and his horse take three leaps. This ceremony is no sooner performed, than these pretended conjurors set about examining the entrails of the creature, and from them pretend to foretel whether his expedition will be prosperous or unsuccessful [g].

Reception of ambassadors. The same kind of superstitious ceremonies are also used when any prince, or embassy from a prince, comes to his court, in order to know whether the visit or negotiation will be attended with good or bad success. Upon this occasion also the prince or ambassador is accompanied by a great number of ladies along the streets, some burning perfumes before him, others singing and playing on instruments.

Singular justice. The kings of Melinda are remarkable for their constant application to public affairs, their vigilance over their ministers, governors, and other magistrates; their assiduity and attention in receiving and hearing the complaints of their subjects; and their strict and severe administration of justice on all delinquents of what rank or degree of favour soever with them; but more particularly on such as attempt to impose upon or mislead them by fraud or artifice.

Causes how tried. Their method of proceeding in cases of this nature is as as follows. When any complaint or appeal is presented to them, they cause the plaintiff to be detained, till the defendant, who is immediately summoned to appear before them and their council, hath heard his accusation, and made his defence. If it be made by an inferior against a governor or minister of state, or other grandees, he is no less obliged to appear; and with this difference, that on his approach to the court, he causes the horn or trumpet to be blown, to give notice of his coming: upon which some of the king's officers come to receive him into their custody, who having dismissed his retinue, conduct him to the hall of justice. In such cases the accuser must be provided with sufficient evidence, or else he is condemned to death, and executed out of hand: but if the accusation be fully proved, the defendant is condemned to make restitution, suitable to the wrong done, and more-

[g] Camerar. de Reb. Turcic. Turseil, in Vit. Xaver. Davity, Africa. Ossor. Ramus, Dapper, La Croix.

over

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over to be fined, and ſuffer corporeal puniſhment; which, if the offender be a perſon of rank or merit, is commonly a baſtonade, more or leſs ſevere, adminiſtered by the king's own hand.

Puniſhment, how inflicted.

The ſentence is no ſooner pronounced, than the offender is led out of the hall into another chamber, where he is obliged to acknowlege his fault, and the juſtice as well as lenity of his puniſhment, in the humbleſt terms and poſture; after which acknowlegement, he is ſtripped of his clothes, and laid flat on his face on the ground. The king then takes his ſtaff of juſtice in his hand, and gives him as many ſtrokes as he thinks fit; and having received his beſt thanks for his kind correction, bids him get up and put on his cloaths again; which having done, and kiſſed his majeſty's feet, he accompanies him, with the reſt of the attendants, into the hall, without betraying the leaſt grief or diſcontent: there the king graciouſly diſmiſſes him before the whole court, with a freſh charge to be careful to adminiſter juſtice to his ſubjects; then cauſes him to be accompanied with the uſual honours and perfumes to the gates of the city, and the whole matter is huſhed as if nothing had happened; the people without being wholly ignorant of what hath been tranſacting within. The fine and charges of the ſuit are levied out of the offender's eſtate; or, if a favourite, out of the king's offers[h].

Vaſco de Gama ſent to find a paſſage to India.

The Portugueſe obtained their firſt entrance into this kingdom, under the conduct of their famed Admiral Vaſco de Gama. The firſt conſiderable coaſt that fell under his obſervation, was that of the iſland and kingdom of Mozambico, of which we ſhall ſpeak more fully in a ſubſequent ſection. The bad condition his men and fleet were then in made him extremely deſirous to caſt anchor there for ſome days at leaſt, to give them reſt and refreſhments.

Reception from the governor.

Having therefore informed himſelf about the iſland and its inhabitants, particularly about the governor, who commanded in it under the king of Kilda, or Kiloa, as well as amply rewarded his informants, he ſent them to him with his beſt compliments, accompanied with ſome valuable preſents; with which the governour was ſo highly pleaſed, that he made him the moſt acceptable return he could wiſh, and came ſoon after in a ſumptuous dreſs, attended by a grand retinue, to pay him a viſit on board his ſhip.

[h] Oſſor. & al. ſupra citat.

Zacocia

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Zacocia (that was the governor's name) a zealous Mohammedan, being delighted at the gallant entertainment which Gama had prepared for him, asked him, whether he and his men were Moors or Turks, what arms they used, and what books he had which treated of Mohammedism, not doubting, but he was of that religion. Gama answered, in general, that he came from the West; that their arms were the same as he saw upon his men; but that they had moreover some warlike machines, with which they could destroy whole armies, and batter the strongest fortresses to the ground. As for the books of their religion, he told him, he would shew them to him with the greatest pleasure, after he and his men had had a few days respite and refreshment. He added, that as he was now bound for the East Indies, he should be highly obliged to him if he could supply him with some expert navigators to conduct him thither. Accordingly the governor brought him next nay two pilots to steer him into Calicut.

Discovers him to be a Christian.

Hitherto both sides were well satisfied with each other, and might have continued so much longer, had not Gama inadvertently given Zacocia to understand that he and his men were Christians, and by that untimely discovery, exasperated that zealous Moslem into a quite contrary behaviour; so that, from that very moment, he began to treat him and his men with the utmost malice and contempt, and to lay schemes to destroy him and his ships. One of the pilots, whom the governor had brought with him, perceiving the sudden change, got away, and was heard of no more; whilst some of the Portuguese, endeavouring to go on shore to obtain wood and water, narrowly escaped being massacred by the people. Gama, not daring to stay longer there, set sail for Quiloa, but was driven by contrary winds to another island, where he fortunately took up an Arabian and his son going to Mecca; and finding him expert in navigation, resolved to get what instructions and assistance he could from him, for completing his voyage [1].

Gama's happy escape to Mombaza.

He then made a fresh attempt to reach Quiloa; but whether through the ignorance, or treachery, of the Mozambic pilot, was directed to Mombazo, which he made him believe was inhabited by Christians, who would give him and his sick men all necessary assistance. Gama, whether persuaded, or compelled by necessity, complied with

[1] Osorio, Ramus. Navig. vol. i. edit. 3.

his

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his advice: he had hardly caſt anchor, when he ſpied a galley, with about a hundred armed men, rowing towards his ſhip; but he would not ſuffer them to come on board. Obſerving however four of them, who appeared to be above the common rank, he permitted them to come on board, on condition they left their arms behind. To this condition they not only conſented, but highly commended that admiral for his caution. They told him, that their king, being informed of the arrival of the Portugueſe, was deſirous of entering into a friendly alliance; and accordingly he ſent deputies to treat about it in his name, on the following day. Theſe forgot not one argument they thought would induce Gama to come to anchor in their harbour, that his majeſty might the more conveniently treat with them about ſettling ſuch a commerce as would prove more advantageous than any they could hope for from India. Several other civilities paſſed between the king and admiral; and ſuch ample promiſes were made by the former to the latter, as began to excite the ſuſpicions of our jealous Portugueſe, that all was mere diſſimulation, and a deſign formed for his deſtruction. What confirmed his fear was, the danger which his ſhip ran, in approaching the harbour, of being driven a-ground by the violence of the waves; which obliged him to furl her ſails, and to drop anchor, and to order his other ſhips to do the ſame: at ſight of which, his two Mozambic pilots leaped into the ſea and ſwam away, conſcious of their treachery in ſteering them to this port. Gama called aloud to the men in the boats to bring them back, but in vain; for the king, having been appriſed of what had paſſed at Mozambico, had laid his ſcheme to decoy them thither, in order to deſtroy them and their ſhips[k]. Finding therefore his plot defeated, he ſent ſome boats out in the night to cut their cables; but theſe were likewiſe prevented from executing their deſign by the vigilance of the admiral; ſo that he was enabled to get clear of that bay in about two days after. He then ſteered his courſe to the port of Melinda, where he met with a much kinder reception from the king; and at the ſame time a fair opportunity of being revenged on that of Mombazo, by the ready aſſiſtance he gave the monarch of Melinda. Theſe two kingdoms were often at war with each other; Melinda bred the beſt and

Sails to Melinda.

[k] Oſſor. ubi ſupra, Rauſ. Marmol, lib. ix. Jarric, Barboſa, & al. ibid.

ſtouteſt

ſtouteſt ſoldiers; Quiloa, to which Mombazo was then ſubject, had the largeſt dominions, and probably a more numerous army, or had gained ſome advantages over the other. Hence we may probably account for the kind welcome which the Melindan monarch gave at this juncture to the Portugueſe admiral.

Gama having happily eſcaped the ſnares of the Mombaſan governor, and gained the coaſt of Melinda, caſt anchor at ſome diſtance from that capital, not only on account of the ſhelves and tempeſtuouſneſs of that coaſt, but out of miſtruſt of meeting with the ſame treacherous treatment here. Having communicated his fear to the Meccan Arab whom he had taken on board, the man, in gratitude, offered to go on ſhore, and ſound the king's inclinations, and was accordingly landed on an iſland oppoſite to the city, from which he went thither in a boat, and was immediately after introduced to the king. The account he gave that monarch of the Portugueſe, and of their motives for being ſo deſirous of entering into a friendly alliance with him, were ſo well reliſhed by the king, who, it ſeems, was of an affable diſpoſition, that he diſpatched a perſon to welcome them in his name, and to preſent them with ſheep, fruit, and other refreſhments. The admiral on his ſide, having made him ſuitable returns, advanced nearer to the ſhore, whence he invited the Indian Chriſtians to come on board. They were tranſported at what they ſaw, and the reception he gave them, gratified him in their turn with ſeveral uſeful inſtructions, and made their report at their return greatly to his advantage. The king was very deſirous of paying the admiral a viſit in perſon; but his age and infirmities not permitting it, he ſent his ſon thither, to whom he had delegated the ſupreme authority, attended with a ſplendid retinue of the nobles of his court [k].

Viſited by the king's ſon.

This prince came magnificently dreſſed, and the galley in which he was rowed reſounded with the muſic of warlike inſtruments. Gama, on the other hand, came to meet him in a long-boat, which the prince had no ſooner reached than he leaped into it, and embraced the welcome ſtranger. He afterwards converſed with him with as much freedom and familiarity as if they had been intimate friends. His behaviour was polite, and his converſation ſenſible. He admired his new gueſt; attentively obſerved every part of his ſhip; and expreſſed a ſingular regard for his nation.

[k] Oſſor. Ramuſ. Marmol, & al. ſup. cit.

Gama,

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Gama, at the ſame time, made him a preſent of his Saracen priſoners, which were accepted by him as a mark of high regard. The prince then invited him to court, to pay a viſit to the king, offering to leave his two ſons as pledges for his return: but Gama, whether out of miſtruſt of ſome hidden treachery, or fear of exceeding his orders, declined the invitation in the civilleſt manner, and only conſented to let two of his men go on ſhore, at his earneſt requeſt. Next day Gama came nearer the city in his long-boat, to take a fuller view of it, and its pleaſant ſituation; and was again honoured with a viſit from the prince, who brought an expert pilot, to aſſiſt him in the courſe of his voyage. Not being able to prevail upon him to land, he obtained a ſolemn promiſe from him, that, at his return, he would take Melinda in his way, and receive the ambaſſador on board, which his father was deſirous to ſend to the king his maſter. Gama ſet ſail on the 22d of April, and proceeded on his voyage, leaving the Melindan court in great expectation of the propoſed alliance with that of Portugal, from which they expected to reap no ſmall advantage in auxiliaries as well as commerce.

It will not be foreign to our deſign, before we quit the country of Melinda, to ſay ſomething of the chief iſlands which lie along the coaſt, and of the kingdoms belonging to it; which are as follow, according to De Liſle.

Iſles and kingdoms on the coaſt of Melinda.

1. The iſle of Pate, with the kingdom of Ambaſa.
2. The iſle and kingdom of Lamo.
3. The iſland and kingdom of Mombaſo, then the reſidence of the king of Melinda, and of the Portugueſe governor of that coaſt, which ſhall be deſcribed in the next ſection.
4. The iſland and kingdom of Pemba.
5. The iſland and kingdom of Zanzibar.
6. The iſle and kingdom of Quiloa.

Pate deſcribed.

1. The iſle and kingdom of Pate take their name from their capital, ſituate on a ſmall iſland, at the mouth of a commodious bay, called by the Portugueſe Baya Formoſa, about 1 degree of ſouth latitude. It is a large town, well built and peopled, hath a convenient port, and drives a great commerce with the neighbouring kingdoms and iſlands, particularly thoſe of Lamo, Ampaſa, Sian, and Chelichia, which ſurround it at a ſmall diſtance, and have likewiſe their names from their reſpective capitals, none of them conſiderable enough to require a farther deſcription [1].

[1] Jarric, lib. iii cap. 13. Sanut. lib. xii. Od. Barbos. Davity, Dapper, &c.

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The king of Pate is a Mohammedan, and so are most of his subjects, tributary however to the Portuguese, who have a fort in it, under their governor of these coasts, who is little better than a tyrant over them, as we may judge by what we lately mentioned concerning the shameful execution of the king of Lamo in his capital. Pate had another town and port, named Moudra; but the town was since taken and razed by Thomas de Sousa, the Portuguese admiral, for refusing, or, perhaps, only neglecting, to pay the usual tribute.

Kingdom and capital of Lamo.

2. The isle and kingdom of Lamo hath been already spoken of in part. The capital of its name hath a good port, and is well walled and fortified. The king and government being Mohammedans, are often assaulted and at war with the rest of the inhabitants, who are idolaters, though the whole island is tributary to Portugal, like the rest of this small archipelago.

3. The kingdom of Mombaso will be the subject of the next section.

Kingdom of Pemba.

4. The isle and kingdom of Pemba is situate over against the bay of St. Raphael, in the kingdom of Melinda. De Lisle gives it 4 deg. 50 min. latitude, and places it just over against the city of Mombaso. It is small and inconsiderable, though its princes assume the title of kings, like those of Mombaso and Melinda, if the Portuguese governor, under whom they live, do not bestow it upon them either through favour, bribery, or for the grandeur of the king their master.

Kingdom of Zanzibar.

5. The isle and kingdom of Zanzibar is likewise situate over against the bay of St. Raphael, between Pemba and Momsia, about eight or nine leagues from the land [m]. It hath been tributary to Portugal ever since their fleet appeared on this coast, the king submitting to pay them an annual weight of gold, which Sanut says amounts to one hundred mitigals of gold, and thirty sheep [n]. This island produces plenty of rice, millet, and sugar-cane; it hath whole forests of orange and citron trees, the latter of extraordinary height, and most odoriferous smell; it likewise abounds with rivers of excellent water, and drives a very considerable commerce with the adjacent kingdoms; insomuch that R. Vasco, during his short cruize of two months near its coasts, took no less than fourteen vessels from those islanders, richly laden with variety of merchandize. There is between this island and the terra firma a

[m] De Lisle. [n] Sanut.

channel,

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channel, or rather ſtreight, ſo narrow, that no ſhip can paſs it without being ſeen on both ſides °.

6. The other iſlands of Quirimba, Amfia, and Aniſa, have little worth notice except that they breed great quantities of large and ſmall cattle, beſides abounding with grain and fruits like thoſe already mentioned; all which, except what is conſumed among them, is conveyed to the inhabitants of terra firma, within the African coaſt, and a great advantage is reaped from the commerce. Quirimba abounds with a coarſer kind of manna, of a greyiſh-red, and difficult to diſſolve, though, in other reſpects, equally purgative with the beſt P. *Vaſt herds of cattle.*

The inhabitants are weakly, ſlender, and meagre; though great feeders; their dreſs is much the ſame with that of the Melindans, both males and females, and the latter are equally fond of adorning themſelves with gold and ſilver chains, bracelets, and other gaudy trifles, which, with the cotton ſtuffs, wherewith they cover their bodies from the waiſt downwards, they have from Mombaſo, Melinda, and other parts of that coaſt, in exchange for their rice, ſugar, fruits, and cattle. The men in general give themſelves up to agriculture and commerce, for which they are better formed than for war. Their trading veſſels are ſlightly made, the timber being faſtened together by ropes, made of flags, inſtead of nails, and their ſails made of mats. Thoſe only of Zanzibar are more ſtrongly and better built, and have ſome cannon, as they commonly carry the richeſt merchandizes of that coaſt; whereas the greateſt part of the reſt are only laden with rice, fruits, and cattle. *Rice, fruits.*

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of the Kingdoms and Iſlands of Mombaſo and Quiloa.

WE join here theſe two iſlands together, becauſe they were under the government of one monarch, when the Portugueſe firſt ſailed to theſe coaſts; and though they have been ſevered, yet the manner of their being ſeparated, and other circumſtances relating to the cataſtrophe, are ſo linked and interwoven, that they could not be eaſily divided, without continual repetitions. We have already *Iſland and kingdom of Mombaſo.*

° Vide Ramuſ. ubi ſupra, Oſſorio, Davity, & al. ubi ſupra.
P Teixeir. Gen. Perſ. lib. i. cap. 7.

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observed, in the last section, that Mombaso is contiguous to Melinda, and only severed from it by the Zebbeon Quilmanci, a river we have described in its proper place, on the north side. Its extent towards the south is not so unanimously fixed by geographers, some stretching its coast no farther than the mouth of the river of its name, where the island and city are situate [q]; whilst others have extended it as far as Cape del Gada, in the 10th degree of south latitude, according to De Lisle; but in this latter sense he includes likewise that of Quiloa with it, as being once both subject to the same monarch [r].

Extent of its coast.

Its situation.

Products.

The island of Mombaso is situate under the 4th deg. 5 min. of south latitude, in a convenient bay, made by the river above mentioned, and is reckoned about twelve miles in circuit. The soil is exceedingly fruitful, and produces rice, millet, and other grain, variety of fruit trees, and other vegetables and esculents; here are also bred vast quantities of cattle, and variety of poultry; and the island abounds with excellent springs of fresh water. The climate is temperate, the air healthy, whatever the Portuguese might pretend to the contrary, when obliged to abandon the city. The inhabitants live long, and at their ease, in the capital especially, where they enjoy great plenty, with taste and elegance. Their bread, either of rice or millet, is made into flat cakes, mixed with sugar, herbs, and other ingredients, to give it a more agreeable taste.

Drink.

Their drink is a kind of beer, made of rice, honey, or some sort of fruits, which are here excellent, particularly their oranges, some of which are very large and of exquisite taste and flavour, even to the very rind, which might be eaten with pleasure. Those liquors they chiefly keep in vessels of different sorts and sizes, neatly made of bullocks horns, as being less apt to break or burst. Of the same materials are their drinking cups and household utensils; that commodity being there in great plenty. Their cattle are also well fed and well-tasted, their pasture being in great plenty, and well watered; and some of their sheep have those large tails, frequently mentioned to weigh between twenty and thirty pounds; so that there is plenty of every necessary of life, as well as of people, whether natives or strangers who resort thither for commerce.

The city was once a peninsula; but hath been since turned into an island, by cutting a canal through the isth-

[q] De Lisle Atlas. & al. supra citat.

[r] Sanut, Marmol, Osorio, & al. Ramus.

mus,

mus, in ſuch a manner, that one part of it covers the city, ſo that it is not ſeen till we enter the port. The houſes are built after the Italian manner, of ſtone cemented with mortar, and embelliſhed with curious paintings and other ornaments; the ſtreets ſtrait, though narrow; and the houſes contiguous, and terraſſed on the tops, ſo that one may walk upon them from one end to the other, without interruption. The city is defended by a ſtrong citadel, into which the Portugueſe afterwards retired, when they could hold the town no longer; they were afterwards driven out of this laſt retreat, anno 1631, by an Arabian cheyk, who made it the place of his reſidence, where the inhabitants of Mombaſo, as well as other trading merchants, applied to him for the liberty of commerce [a].

Fine houſes.

Citadel.

Before the town is formed by the ſea a moſt commodious bay, which opens in the form of a cockle-ſhell, into which the trading veſſels have ſufficient depth of water, and room to ſail and tack about, the channel being wide enough for the largeſt of them to enter with all their ſails diſplayed. Within this incloſure, on the farther ſide is a dyke, or cauſeway, built of ſtone, which runs acroſs the channel, over which one may paſs from one ſide to the other, at low water. Beſides the channel, which ſurrounds the town, there are ſeveral other navigable cuts, which run into the land; that which the city chiefly makes uſe of hath ſcarcely the breadth of a bow-ſhot in ſome places, and the entrance into the bay is defended by a ſtout bulwark, which the inhabitants raiſed ſoon after the arrival of Vaſco de Gama. In the year 1497, it had like to have been deſtroyed with his fleet, through his over-confidence in venturing into it, at the invitation of the governor. Upon the whole, this port carries on as great a commerce with the iſlands and kingdoms adjacent, as any upon this coaſt.

Spacious bay and channel.

Here is great variety of inhabitants, ſome black, ſome white, olive, and ſwarthy; but moſt of them dreſs after the Arabian manner, the richer ſort very ſumptuouſly, with the richeſt ſtuffs and ſilk; whilſt the women are habited in gold and ſilver tiſſue. The furniture of their houſes is no leſs elegant, conſiſting in rich carpets, paintings, hangings, and variety of utenſils and ornaments, imported from Cambaya, Perſia, and other countries. The people are ſaid to be more affable and civil to

[a] Marmol, Davity, Dapper, Oſſor. La Croix, & al. ubi ſupra.

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Various inhabitants.

Religions.

ſtrangers than any on this coaſt, though conſiſting of ſo many nations, complexions, and religions, as Mohammedans, Idolaters, and Chriſtians. They were formerly Pagans, and addicted to the groſſeſt ſuperſtitions of the Bedowin ſect. The Portugueſe made a ſmall number of converts upon their ſettling in this kingdom. The far greater part afterwards either returned to their old Paganiſm, or turned Mohammedans, after the example of one of their monarchs, who, in the year 1631, had eſpouſed a Chriſtian, as he had been brought up in that religion; but then falling out with the Portugueſe governor on account of ſome injuſtice or oppreſſion, he drove him out of the citadel, maſſacred all that fell into his hands, and turned Mohammedan, in order to be protected by the Turks [t].

Imbis, a barbarous people, deſcribed.

But of all the nations which have ſettled in the inland part of this kingdom, that of the Imbis, as they are called, is one of the moſt fierce, barbarous, and impious. The reader will ſee in the margin (E) the beſt account we can find concerning their extract and migration into divers parts of Africa, in prodigious colonies. They have been ſo powerful formerly in this kingdom, that their monarchs

[t] Jarric, lib. iii. cap. 13. Marm. Oſſor. Ramuſ. Davity, & al. ubi ſupra.

(E) This ſavage people is ſuppoſed to be the progeny of thoſe barbarous cannibals that are ſettled in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope, being, like them, tall and well ſet, fierce and warlike, living altogether upon rapine and plunder, and feeding on the fleſh of their captives, and even of their own kindred, diſpatching thoſe that are ſick in order to fit them for the ſhambles. Their drink is chiefly human blood, and their drinking veſſels are made of ſkulls. Their weapons are poiſoned arrows, and long poles burnt at each end.

They had formerly overrun not only a great part of the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, but had penetrated even as far as Arabia, and committed the moſt horrid ravages. And though they were either happily deſtroyed or driven out, yet we ſhall find them ſwarming in many other parts of Africa, though under other names; as the Gallas and Aguns, which infect the empire of Abyſſinia; the Jaggi, or Jaggos, in the kingdom of Metamba; and in other parts of Africa, under the denomination of Jambagottas (1).

(1) Jarric, Theſ. Ind. lib. iii. cap. 13. Purchas Relat. lib. vii. cap. 18. Davity, & al.

could

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could bring an army of eighty thouſand men into the field. When theſe are upon the point of engaging the enemy, their cuſtom is to cauſe whole herds of cattle to march at the head of their ranks. Theſe are followed by a number of men who carry fire before them, an emblem ſignifying no leſs, than that all who are made priſoners muſt expect to be roaſted and devoured by thoſe cannibals. After theſe fire-bearers come the king's life-guard, armed cap-à-pie, and himſelf in the center; after whom follows the body of the army. Dreadful is the fate of thoſe who fall into his mercileſs hands, and the country through which he paſſes, where every man, woman, and beaſt is doomed to the moſt ſhocking and inhuman death and deſtruction, and every place to plunder, fire, and ſword. *Way of fighting.*

Theſe brutal monarchs are, by their ſubjects, worſhipped as gods, and aſſume the title of emperors of the whole terreſtrial globe. They carry their impiety even againſt the Deity itſelf: when annoyed by rain or ſunſhine they arrogantly bend their bows againſt heaven, and, in revenge, let fly their impotent arrows and curſes againſt the ſun and ſkies[u]. Such is the terror they ſpread wherever they come, that the affrighted inhabitants chuſe to abandon their native dwellings, and throw themſelves under the protection of either the Turks or Portugueſe, rather than run the riſk of encountering ſuch a hoſt of incarnate furies. The former of theſe have indeed been ever zealous either to convert them to Mohammediſm, or to extirpate the recuſants; but all they could do was only to drive them farther into the inland country, where themſelves have not yet been able to penetrate, and where the Imbis ſtill occupy vaſt regions unmoleſted. Thus much ſhall ſuffice at preſent for the deſcription and hiſtory of the kingdom of Mombaſo. We ſhall reſume the other after we have diſcuſſed our next article, with which it is cloſely connected and interwoven. *Impious monarchs.*

The Deſcription and Hiſtory of the Iſland and Kingdom of Quiloa, or Xiloa.

THIS iſland is ſituate, according to moſt geographers, near, or upon the mouth of the river Cuava, or Cuabo and Quiſimajugo, under 8 deg. 20 min. of ſouth lati- *The iſle and kingdom of Quiloa.*

[u] De his vide Jarric Theſaur. Ind. lib. iii. cap. 13. Purchas, Reat. lib. vii. cap. 2. ſect. 3. Oſſorio, lib. i. Davity, Dapper, & al.

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tude [w] (F), and was first discovered by the Portuguese, anno 1498. It hath its name from its capital, a large opu-
Its extent. lent city, of which we shall say more in the sequel. The kingdom, which likewise bears its name, lieth on the continent over against it, and extends about two hundred miles along the coast from north to south; but how far towards the west, or inland, is not known. It is divided from the island by a narrow channel, and the soil of both is so nearly the same for goodness and fertility, that they are thought
Inhabitants. to have been formerly contiguous. The king and his
Language. subjects are Mohammedans, the latter partly black and partly tawny. They all speak the Arabic and several other languages, which they learn from the nations they
Elegant living and dress. traffic with. Their dress is that of the Arabian Turks, and much the same with that of Mombaso, lately described; neither do they fall short of them either in the finery and richness of it, or in the elegance of living, as they enjoy the same plenty of all necessaries here as well as there; the women especially affect finery, with variety of ornaments about their necks, arms, wrists, and ancles; particularly bracelets made of ivory, curiously wrought,
Manner of mourning. which, upon the death of a parent, husband, or near relation, they break in pieces in token of sorrow, whilst the men express their's by shaving their hair, and abstaining from food [x].

We cannot give any certain dimensions of this island, but have a much better account of its metropolis, which is large, rich, and well built. The houses are of stone and mortar, handsome, and after the Spanish manner. They are several stories high, and have each a pleasant garden behind, well watered and cultivated, here being

[w] Fitau, Hist. Conq. of the Portug. tom. i. p. 11. Davity, La Croix, & al. [x] Vinc. Le Blanc Travels, part ii. chap. 4.

(F) This to us seems a great mistake of father Fitau, and those who have followed him (2); the mouth of the Cuabo, according to the latest discoveries, lying under the 17th, and not the 8th deg. of south latitude, unless we can suppose two rivers of the same name. D'Anville places the mouth of one, to which he gives the name of King, near the town of Quiloa, which bids fair to be that on which the island lies, and answers well enough to the 8th deg. of latitude above mentioned.

(2) Fitau Conquest. des Portugais, Davity, Dapper, Martiniere, La Croix, & al.

plenty

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plenty of ſprings of freſh water. The houſes are finely furniſhed within, and terraces on the top with a kind of hard clay, and the ſtreets ſo narrow, that one may eaſily ſtep from one ſide to the other. On one ſide of the town is the citadel, where reſides the Mohammedan prince. It is adorned with ſtately towers, and ſurrounded with a ditch, and other fortifications. It hath two gates, one towards the port, whence one may ſee the ſhips ſailing in and out, and the other looking towards the ſea.

Fertile ſoil and climate.

The country about Quiloa, though low, is yet very pleaſant, and fertile in rice and millet, fruits, and good paſture; ſo that they breed abundance of cattle, beſides poultry of all ſorts, both wild and tame. They have fiſh likewiſe in great plenty, and very good [y]. The climate is likewiſe affirmed by moſt travellers to be very temperate and healthy; Sanut being the only author we know of who hath ventured to aſſert the contrary in all theſe reſpects.

City, when built.

We read of another Quiloa on the continent, which ſome authors will have to be the ſame with the Repta of Ptolemy, becauſe diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Old City [z]. It was built about a hundred years ago, by the celebrated Hali, the ſon of Hoſhein, ſoltan of Shiraz, or Perſia, who afterwards made it his reſidence. It is parted from that on the iſland by the river Cuabo, and a narrow arm of the ſea, on the ſouth of which it ſtands. This prince arriving in theſe parts, pitched upon that ſpot to build and fortify, that it might be a kind of bulwark againſt the inſults of the Caffers; but it is ſince gone to decay, and is now but an inconſiderable place, of no great commerce; whereas this in the iſland, being chiefly inhabited by rich merchants, who traffick with the neighbouring kingdoms and adjacent iſlands, for gold, ambergriſe, pearls, muſk, and other rich commodities, is one of the moſt opulent, as well as agreeable cities on this coaſt. Their trading veſſels are built much after the ſame manner as thoſe of Mombaſo, only with this peculiarity, they are laid over, inſide and outſide, with a thick varniſh, made of frankincenſe inſtead of pitch [a].

The hiſtory of Quiloa.

It is time now to come to the hiſtorical part of theſe two kingdoms; and, that we may proceed in ſuch order as to avoid all needleſs repetitions, and yet omit nothing worth our reader's notice, we ſhall begin with the foundation of

[y] Marmol. Oſſor. Davity, & al. ubi ſup. [z] Maffe, Hiſt. Ind. lib. i. [a] Marmol, Oſſor. Sanut, Ramuſ. Davity, & al. ſup. citat.

the

the old city and kingdom of Quiloa, by the Persian prince above mentioned, that being the oldest transaction of moment we find concerning them. Hoshein, who reigned in Shiraz, left seven sons at his death; one of whom, named Ali, or Hali, being born of an Abyssinian slave, and finding himself despised by the rest of his brethren, resolved to leave that kingdom, and seek his fortune elsewhere. As he was a prince of great prudence as well as courage, he quickly made choice of the coast of Zanguebar for the first trial, it being known to be rich, on account of its vast commerce, as well as of the gold mines on the continent. He accordingly embarked at Hormuz, with his small company of friends and other adventurers, in two vessels, and arrived at Magadoxo. Thence he sailed to Brava; but finding them already inhabited, he was obliged to proceed farther, in quest of some settlement where he might be sole master. At length he entered the bay of Quiloa, and having examined the advantageous situation of that peninsula, he, by means of some presents, obtained leave of the Caffers to settle and fortify himself in it against the insults of the Arabs, who were masters of Songo, Changa, and other islands in that neighbourhood. It was not long before he had made his new settlement so strong, and the harbour so convenient, as to be able to attempt the reduction of Monsia, and some other adjacent islands, by the assistance of his martial son; after which acquisitions, he assumed the title of king of Quiloa, and gave that name to this little state.

Hali, the founder.

A list of his successors.

His first successor Hali, surnamed Bumalo, reigned forty years; and, for want of children, left the kingdom to his nephew, named Hali Busoloquese, who reigned only four years and a half, and was succeeded by his son David. This last had not reigned above four years, before he was driven out of his kingdom by the king of Changa, and retired to Monsia, which was one of the founder's first conquests, where he died. The king of Changa, now master of Quiloa, sent one of his nephews, named Hali Boubucoquer, to be governor of it. He was two years after expelled by the inhabitants, who set up in his room Hoshein Solyman, nephew to David the late dispossessed king; and he reigned sixteen years. He was succeeded by another of David's nephews, named Hali Bendawd, who, after a long reign of sixty years, left the kingdom to his grandson of the same name. This last had not reigned above six years before his subjects dethroned him for his tyranny, and set up his brother Hosheim Ben David on the throne,

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throne, who reigned twenty-four years. He was ſucceeded by Solyman, a prince of the ſame family, who, after a two year's reign, was beheaded by order of his ſubjects, who raiſed one of his ſons, named David, to the throne. David reigned forty years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Solyman Hoſhein, a warlike prince, who ſubdued the greateſt part of the coaſt of Zanguebar, and ſeized on the gold mines of Sofala, and of the iſlands of Monfia, Pemba, and Zanzibar. It was this prince who firſt raiſed the city of Quiloa to its greateſt ſplendor and opulence, and fortified it with a ſtout citadel, built of ſquare ſtone, flanked with towers, and ſurrounded with a ditch. He built alſo ſome handſome palaces, and other ſtately fabricks in the city, where moſt of the buildings were before of timber only. His ſon and ſucceſſor reigned only two years, and left the kingdom to his brother Talud, who enjoyed it but one year, and left it to a third brother, named Haſhen, who reigned twenty-five years, and was ſucceeded by a fourth brother, named Bonji Solyman; who, during the ten years of his reign, proved the moſt ſucceſsful of all his brethren, and was moſt proſperous in all his enterprizes.

After his death the crown fell to his nephew Hali David, who, after four years reign, left it to another prince, who held it fourteen years, and left it to his grandſon Haſhen. This prince proved likewiſe very ſucceſsful during the eighteen years of his reign, and was moreover an excellent prince. His ſon Solyman reigned fourteen years, and was treacherouſly murdered as he was coming out of the moſque. By his death the crown devolved on his eldeſt ſon Haſhen, who being then at Mecca, his brother David took the reins of government, and held them till his return, which was not till two years after, when he reſigned them to him. Haſhen reigned twenty-four years, and left no iſſue. After his death, David reſumed the government, and enjoyed it the ſame number of years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Solyman, who was dethroned by his uncle Haſhan, twenty days after his acceſſion to the crown. Haſhan died ſix years and a half after, and left it to his nephew Taluf, brother to the depoſed Solyman.

Taluf reigned only one year, and after him another Solyman reigned two years and four months, when he was dethroned by an uncle of his name. This laſt reigned twenty-four years, four months, and twenty days, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Haſhan, who reigned likewiſe twenty-four years, and left the throne to one of his brothers,

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thers, named Mahamed, who, after nine years, was succeeded by his son Solyman, who reigned twenty-two years, and after him his uncle Ishmael Ben-Hashan governed it fourteen years. His successor, who was prime minister, and raised to the throne by the people, had not reigned above a year before they deposed him, and chose one of the royal blood, named Mahmud, then reduced to extreme poverty, whose reign proved as short-lived; for they raised the old minister Hashan to it, who reigned ten years, and after him his son Zayd ruled as long.

Zayd was no sooner dead, than the prime minister seized on the throne, and held it one year. He substituted in his place of prime minister one of his brothers, named Mamud, who had three brave sons, against whom he conceived such jealousy, that he removed them as far as he could from his capital, under pretence of promoting them to governments; one of whom, named Jusef, was lord of Sofala. Anaga, who came to erect a fortress there, was slain, and the people chose Abd'alla, the brother of the late king Zayd for their king. He reigned about a year and a half, and another brother of his ruled as long; after whose death the prime minister attempted to raise Hashan, the son of the late prime minister of the same name to the throne, but was opposed by the people, who chose in his room a prince of the royal family, named Chombo, who was next year deposed, and Hashan again raised to the throne. Five years after, he was again deposed, in favour of Braham, or Ibraim, the son of the late soltan Mahmud. Ibraim had not held the reins above two years, before he was deposed in favour of his nephew Alfudail, whose reign proving but short, Emir Braham, the prime minister, declined making a fresh election of a king, but laid claim to the throne, as being the son of the late Solyman, and first cousin to Alfudail. However, though Braham was then master of the metropolis, the people never vouchsafed to give him the royal title, but only that of governor. What helped to support him against them, was the contest which arose between the Quiloans and the Portuguese admirals. However, we find that the Alfudail above mentioned had left a son behind, by an Abyssinian slave, who reigned afterwards in Quiloa, at the time when the kingdom was become tributary to that of Portugal, as we shall see in the sequel of this history [c].

[c] Marmol. lib. ix. cap. 38.

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It is now time to return to our history of the Portuguese exploits and conquests on this coast, especially in the kingdoms of Mombaso and Melinda.

The reader may remember that their admiral Vasco de Gama left the king of Melinda, in pursuance of his order, with a special promise of taking that capital in his way, at his return for Europe. He proved as good as his word; and, among other valuable presents, sent by that prince to the king of Portugal, Gama took with him his ambassador to that court, who was to conclude a treaty of alliance and friendship between them. He returned again the following year, well satisfied with his reception and success at that court, in the Portuguese fleet, bound for India, commanded by Don Petro Alvarez de Cabral, consisting of thirteen ships, and one thousand five hundred men: his orders were, among other things, to try, by all possible means, to obtain of the zamorin of Calicut, a permission to build a fortress near that city, by which the Portuguese might be secure from the insults of their enemies in carrying on their commerce; and, in case of a refusal, to declare him an enemy, and treat him as such. This circumstance we mention by-the-bye, to shew what methods they took to allure or frighten every prince or state into an alliance with the king of Portugal; and after what manner they revenged the pretended affront of their refusal, not only on them, but on all their unhappy and innocent subjects, under the specious cloak of religion. Cabral was farther ordered to take Melinda in his way, and to assure the king, in his master's name, that his embassy was very acceptable to him, and that he would omit nothing that was in his power to deserve the esteem and friendship of so worthy a prince[d].

Gama returns to Melinda.

We shall not enter into a detail of his adventures and disasters, which will be best seen in the history of Portugal, but relate only what passed on this coast between him and the several kingdoms he stopped at, after his doubling the Cape of Good Hope.

The first place he touched at was the port of Mosambico, where he was to deliver some presents, and a letter to the king from his master. But, in his way, meeting with two rich ships, lying at anchor near the coast, whose masters no sooner espied him, than they made all the sail they could to escape, he quickly came up to them, and took them; yet finding afterwards that they belonged to a prince related to the king of Melinda, he thought himself

Arrival at Mosambico.

[d] Osor. lib. ii.

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obliged to restore them, with all their gold and other valuables they had brought from Sofala.

Extent of the king's dominions.

Having performed his commission at Mosambico, and provided himself with a pilot for Quiola, he went on, coasting at a small distance from the shore, and observing the several fertile islands which lay in his way, and were either subject or tributary to that kingdom, extending in length about two hundred miles [c]. Having at length reached the port of Quiloa, he sent a message to the king, named Ibraim, or, as others write it, Braham, or Abraham, acquainting him that he brought letters from the king of Portugal, by which he would easily perceive how desirous that great monarch was to enter into an alliance with him. He added, that he himself would have been proud of bringing them to his majesty, were it not inconsistent with his office, and the orders he had received not to leave the fleet on any pretence, begging of him, at the same time, to appoint some place upon the water, where he might have the honour of conferring with him upon this subject.

Ibraim received the message with marks of gratitude, and returned the following answer to the admiral: that he would chearfully embrace an opportunity of entering into an alliance of friendship with a prince for whom he had conceived the greatest esteem; and that finding he could not have the pleasure of seeing Cabral on shore, he would give him the desired meeting on the water, the very next day. He appeared accordingly, with his vessels, adorned in the richest manner, attended with a splendid retinue, clad in purple embroidered with silver and gold, and armed with swords and daggers, the handles of which were set with diamonds; the water resounding with the music of their flutes and trumpets; whilst the Portuguese, on their part, saluted them with their cannon, and other marks of honour; and Cabral, as well as the rest of the officers, who accompanied him in his long-boat, were clothed in the most elegant manner. As soon as they were along-side of the king's barge, Cabral, having saluted him in the most respectful terms, presented him with the letters from king Emanuel, written in Arabic, and gave him the other particulars of his embassy, all which were received with marks of the highest satisfaction and complacency; and it was agreed that Cabral should, on the following day, send a proper person on shore, to give the finishing hand to the proposed treaty of alliance. All this how-

[c] Osor. ubi supra Ramus. Marmol, & al. supra citat.

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ever was quashed before the time was come, by the intervention of the Arabian merchants of that city, who gave the king such an odious and dreadful character of the Portuguese, and their religion, their conquests, piracies, tyrannies, and cruelty, wherever they got footing, that he was at once deterred not only from pursuing the negotiation, but from ever admitting them to trade in his dominions. As he doubted not their giving him some signal marks of their resentment on this occasion, he ordered the garrison of the city to be reinforced, and all other hostile preparations that are usually made in seaport towns, when an enemy is in the harbour. Cabral was soon apprised of these proceedings, by the brother of the king of Melinda, then at Quiloa; and, to avoid all hostilities and dangers, set sail immediately for that kingdom, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy by the king, who took care to send himan immediate supply of provisions and refreshments, sufficient for his whole fleet.

Ibraim instigated against the Portuguese.

The first thing which Cabral did, after his arrival, was to send the Melindan ambassador, whom he had brought back from Portugal, on shore, with the presents which Emanuel sent to his majesty. The good old king was so highly pleased, that he appeared on horseback, richly dressed, and went to the sea-side, where Cabral and his officers met and saluted him in the usual form. Cabral, though earnestly pressed to make a longer stay, civilly declined it; and, having delivered two persons into his care, who were sent by Emanuel to penetrate into Abyssinia, took his leave, and pursued his course for India, in which we shall follow him no farther than by observing that he attacked all the Arabian ships that fell in his way, in revenge of the disappointment and affront he had sustained from those of Quiloa.

Cabral sails for India.

The next Portuguese admiral who appeared on this coast, four years after, was Don Francesco Almaed, or Almeida, invested with the character of viceroy of India. After much slow sailing and difficulty in doubling the Cape, he steered his course directly for the island of Quiloa, where he arrived about the latter end of July. Upon his approaching the port, he sent a formal message to the king with his compliments, and notice of his arrival; but that prince, instead of answering it, left the city in the silence of the night [f].

A.D. 1505.

Almeida's arrival.

[f] Osorio, ubi supra, lib. iv. & al. sup. citat.

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The Portuguese attack the city.

The citizens, finding themselves deserted by their pusillanimous king, had immediate recourse to the brave Mahmud Ancon, and begged that he would lead them against the common enemy, promising to obey him, and fight in defence of their lives and liberties. Almeida, having waited some time for the king, or for an answer to his message, and beginning to suspect some hostile design, resolved to attack the city in form. Accordingly, at high-water, he landed five hundred brisk fellows, whom he divided into two battalions; the one of two hundred men, the command of which he gave to his son Laurence, and headed the other himself; at sight of whom, Ancon and his citizens fled also out of the town, so that the Portuguese entered it without opposition. This flight failed not to alarm that cautious general, who, now dreading some treacherous design, ordered his men to halt, and his son, with his battalion, to proceed slowly, and with great circumspection. His precautions, however, proved needless, seeing the few that were left in the town were such as had neither courage nor strength to oppose him: so that he ordered it to be plundered, and the spoil to be deposited in a large house, where he distributed it amongst his men, reserving for himself one single arrow.

Build a fort in it.

His next care was to set them about building a fort in a proper place, near the shore, to repel the enemy in case of need. Whilst that work was carrying on, he sent a message to fetch Mahmud Ancon and the other citizens to him, who, upon their arrival, threw themselves on their knees, and implored his mercy; but he quickly raised Ancon up, telling him and them that they had no cause to fear any thing from him, but rather to be thankful for being delivered from the usurpation of a cruel and perfidious coward, and restored to their liberty under the auspicious reign, and by the singular clemency, of king Emanuel, a most powerful, and no less benevolent, prince. He then proceeded to recapitulate the many injuries and cruelties they had suffered under their dastardly tyrant, and the blessings they might promise themselves under the protection of the king his master; as a proof of which, he told them, he would raise Mahmud Ancon to the royal dignity, whose affection, fidelity, and conduct, they had so long and often experienced. Thus did the artful admiral cajole the now subdued and heartless Quiloans out of one slavery into a worse. To conclude the scene with the greater shew of splendor, he saluted him king of

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of Quiloa, in the name of Emanuel his maſter, and placed a crown of gold upon his head; impoſing, at the ſame time, an annual tribute upon him, which he obliged him, by a ſolemn oath, to pay; and to behave, in all other reſpects, as a moſt faithful vaſſal to the crown of Portugal. *Mahamed crowned king of Quiloa.*

The admiral, having ſucceeded ſo far, beheld, with pleaſure, the remainder of the people, who had abandoned the city, flock back again at the news of their old chief being now become their king; as well as the firſt marks of their loyalty to their new lord the king of Portugal. They aſſiſted his men in completing the fort which he had begun, and, to quicken their endeavours, he ordered his tent to be ſet up at the foot of it. He cauſed likewiſe eight or ten of the adjacent houſes to be demoliſhed to make an eſplanade between the city and fort, and on the ſea-ſide ſome outworks were raiſed, and a large ditch was dug round, to guard the place on every ſide. The fort, thus finiſhed, was called Fort St. James, the patron of Spain, on account of their having entered the city on the eve of his feſtival. The laſt thing he did was to appoint a governor, and to leave a good garriſon in it, together with a couple of veſſels to guard the coaſt; he then ſteered his courſe towards Mombaſo. *The citizens recalled to the city.* *An eſplanade made between the fort and city.*

So far Marmol and Oſſorio agree as to the promotion and coronation of Mahmud Ancon: but one leaves him in quiet poſſeſſion of his new kingdom, till he was treacherouſly murdered by an ungrateful prince, a friend of the depoſed Braham, and ſucceeded in the regal dignity by his own ſon; and the other tells us, that this noble prince, far from being ſatisfied with his exaltation, took an opportunity, before Almeida's departure, to diveſt himſelf of it in favour of a ſurviving ſon of the late king Alfudail, his particular friend, by an act of the moſt unprecedented gratitude and loyalty to the royal family: he prevailed upon the admiral to ſend for the young prince, and to ſettle the crown upon him, to the great admiration of all the Portugueſe, who could not but highly applaud ſuch a generous deed in an Arabian and Mohammedan [z]. *Mahmud treacherouſly murdered.*

Whether it was Alfudail's ſon, or Mahamed, who was left in poſſeſſion of the Quiloan throne, certain it is, the face of affairs altered quickly after Almeida's departure, and the good underſtanding that ſeemed to reign between

[z] Marmol, ubi ſup. Oſorio, lib. iv.

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the Arabs and Portugueſe, was ſoon turned into diſtruſt and reſentment; king Emanuel giving the firſt occaſion, by depriving the Quiloans, as well as the other kingdoms on that coaſt, of one of the moſt advantageous branches of their commerce; namely, that with Sofala, of which he was now become maſter, and was reſolved to engroſs wholly to himſelf. This monopoly proved the ſource of ſuch frequent depredations, under the ſpecious pretence of ſearching for contraband goods, that the king of Portugal ſeemed to be really what the chief of the Imbis called him, abſolute ſovereign of the ſea. The commerce, both on that coaſt and adjacent iſlands, was almoſt wholly interrupted, and the natives were quite impoveriſhed; whilſt the Portugueſe gained immenſe riches by their tyrannic depredations.

At length ſuch heavy and repeated complaints came from all theſe parts to the viceroy of Goa, that he ſaw it abſolutely neceſſary to ſend one of his officers, named Vaal, thither, to put a ſpeedy end to theſe diſorders, by forbidding all thoſe dreadful piracies; and on a progreſs through all the trading ports, inviting the natives to reſume their uſual commerce, with promiſes that it ſhould be free for the future from all moleſtation. This aſſurance, in ſome meaſure, revived the ſpirits of the natives, and in particular of the Quiloans, many of whom had before abandoned that city, and gone to ſettle at Mombaſo, Melinda, Zanguibar, and other parts, from whence they now returned.

New diſſenſions. All this while the city of Quiloa was ſtrangely divided. Braham having ſtill a ſtrong party in it, who preferred him, as being of the royal blood, though by a ſlave, to Mahmud or his ſon, who were of mean extraction; but the governor and his Portugueſe, and as many of the Arabs as they had drawn into their intereſt, ſtuck ſo cloſe to the new made king, that Braham finding he could gain nothing againſt him by open force, reſolved to deſtroy him by treachery; and, to that end, hired a reſolute fellow to take away his life. Oſſorio ſays he miſſed his blow, and only gave him a wound in the arm, which did not prove dangerous, though the aſſaſſin was ſeized and put to death. Whereas Marmol affirms, that he actually murdered him, and that his ſon, named Hagi Hoſhein, whom Almeida's governor had raiſed to that dignity, was choſen in his room. This election, inſtead of quelling, greatly increaſed the diſcontent, becauſe he immediately inſiſted upon waging war againſt Braham, as the mur-

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murderer of his father; though in other reſpects he did ſeveral public acts to gain their favour; ſo that on a ſudden the citizens broke out in open revolt, upon hearing that he had engaged Mano Manſa, a powerful neighbouring prince, to attack Braham by land, whilſt he, unexpectedly, fell upon him by ſea. *Braham ravages the country.*

This revolt did not, however, divert him from his deſign; on the contrary, he and his ally ſucceeded ſo well in it, that Braham was forced to fly, whilſt they ravaged the whole country, and carried away priſoners all that had engaged on his ſide. Hagi Hoſhein at length was grown ſo haughty and inſolent, as to ill treat the kings of Melinda, Zanguibar, and other Arabian princes. Theſe being provoked at his inſolence, a war enſued, in which the Quiloans loſt many of their citizens, and ſuffered ſo much, in other reſpects, from thoſe princes, as well as from the Caffers, on his account, that his very name became odious, and was never mentioned without execration. At length both the citizens and Arabian chiefs agreed to ſend a deputation to the viceroy of Goa, to beg that, in order to put an end to thoſe deſtructive feuds, he would reſtore the depoſed Braham to the crown, or beſtow it on his nephew Nicanto, for whom they had already declared. The viceroy accordingly ſent orders to the governor of Quiloa to reinſtate the former; but the governor, not daring to truſt him ſo far, cauſed the latter to be crowned, and Hoſhein to be depoſed; who, not brooking his diſgrace, retired to Mombaſo, where he died ſoon after.

The new king behaved, during the two firſt years of his reign, like a wiſe and good prince; but growing afterwards debauched and tyrannic, became as odious to his ſubjects as he had been admired by them. To complete his misfortune, his friend the governor's time being expired, a new one arrived, who proved leſs favourable to him; whilſt, on the other hand, Braham, enraged to ſee him preferred, declared was againſt him. The Chriſtians ſuffered greatly in this conteſt, and many of them were ſlain in fighting againſt him. At length Braham got the better, and made his entry into Quiloa, at the head of his Caffers, who were commanded by his brother Mingo. The new governor and his nephew were ſoon after made priſoners, and Nicanto was defeated at the head of forty Chriſtians. In the mean time an order came to the governor for demoliſhing the fortreſs, and removing him and his garriſon to the iſland of *Makes war againſt Nicanto.* *Enters Quiloa.* *Takes the governor priſoner.* *The fort demoliſhed.*

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The garrison ordered to Zocotora.

Zocotora, lately taken by Triſtran de Cugna. The governor had, it ſeems, before this time, depoſed Nicanto, and ſent his nephew to Braham to invite him to reſume the regal dignity. Nicanto had accordingly retired to the iſle of Quirimbo, where he died miſerably, and Braham came and took poſſeſſion of the Quiloan crown. Having by his late depoſition and diſgrace become more prudent, he governed the iſland peaceably and happily, and faithfully adhered to the ſervice and intereſt of the king of Portugal. Thus was this iſle and kingdom happily freed, if not from a ſtate of ſubjection and tribute, yet at leaſt from the tyranny and oppreſſion of a Portugueſe governor and garriſon [a].

Nicanto depoſed.

Almeida arrives at Mombaſa.

It is time now to follow the Portugueſe admiral to Mombaſo, the next kingdom on which he made a new and ſucceſsful attempt. We have already obſerved that the capital of it is ſituated on a peninſula, made ſince into an iſland by cutting a channel on the land ſide. It lies between Melinda on the north, and Quiloa on the ſouth, pretty near at the ſame diſtance from both. As ſoon as the admiral came near it, he ordered his captain to ſound the depth of the ſhore all the way.

It was on the 30th day of Auguſt when he anchored in view of the city with eleven large ſhips. The city had neither walls nor any other fortifications, ſaving two old towers towards the water-ſide, built of ſtone, ſurrounded with a ditch, and an old bulwark of earth, on which the inhabitants had planted a battery of ſeven or eight cannon they had taken out of a Portugueſe ſhip which had been wrecked in that neighbourhood. With theſe they immediately began to annoy captain Gonzalo Pavia, as he was ſounding the bay, who returned their fire from his larger guns; a ſhot from which happening to light on their magazine of powder, ſet it on fire; an accident which ſo terrified the garriſon, that they abandoned the bulwark, and fled into the city. Next morning, Almeida came up cloſe to the place with his whole fleet, which he divided into two ſquadrons, in order to attack it in two different parts, leaving his ſon Laurence with one of them before the city, whilſt he with the other poſted himſelf behind a point of land, whence he ſent two armed barks to ſail round the iſland, and ſtationed two of his ſhips at proper places, to hinder the inhabitants from retiring into the continent, as thoſe of

[a] Marmol Afric, in fin. lib. ix. & al. ubi ſupra.

Quiloa

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Quiloa had done. The two barks brought with them a Moor they had taken, who acquainted him, that the king had hired one thouſand five hundred Caffers, beſides his own garriſon, to defend the city, and that he had expreſsly forbid them to go out of the city under pain of death.

Sends an officer to the king.

In conſequence of this intelligence, Almeida thought proper, before he began any hoſtilities, to diſpatch one of his officers to the king, with a meſſage of peace, and offers of friendſhip from the great and potent Emanuel. He made large promiſes of his favour and protection, and a copious diſplay of the many advantages that would accrue to him and his kingdom by becoming his ally and tributary; adding, that it could be no diſhonour to the king of Mombaſo to acknowlege ſuch a mighty monarch for his ſovereign, ſince ſo many other conſiderable princes, both in Africa and India, had voluntarily ſubjected themſelves to his authority. He concluded with telling him, that if he refuſed his generous offers, he ſhould be obliged to uſe compulſion, and force him to live happy under the dominion of one of the beſt of princes. The meſſenger drew near accordingly, attended with one of the Arabian pilots, which they had brought from Quiloa, and deſired to be admitted to the king; but the inhabitants bid him at his peril attempt to land, and threatened to tear him in pieces, if he did not immediately retire. They told him, in deriſion, he might go back to his ſhips, and let his maſter know, that he had not now to do with the women of Quiloa, but with men of courage and valour, as he ſhould find them to his coſt, if he attempted to enter the port with his fleet. Almeida, provoked at this anſwer, was going to reply to it with the fire of his artillery; but, upon cooler thoughts, he reſolved to be firſt informed of the ſtrength of the place by better hands. That very night, he ordered two of his captains to go on ſhore, and ſeize on ſome of the inhabitants, from whom, by fair or foul means, he might get intelligence of the king's ſtrength and deſign. They accordingly landed with great ſilence; and brought back with them, a perſon who proved to be one of the king's domeſtics and friends: he acquainted him, that the king his maſter, upon hearing of the taking of Quiloa, had, beſides his own army, taken into his ſervice four thouſand mercenaries, and expected another reinforcement. He ſaid he had moreover a large magazine of arms, and was provided with all other neceſſaries for a

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brave defence, and was able to repel a much greater army from his city and fortifications.

The ſiege of it reſolved on. Almeida, nothing diſcouraged at this report, reſolved to attack the place the very next day, which was the 15th of Auguſt, and the feaſt of the Virgin Mary's Aſſumption. He ordered his ſon, with ſome of his officers, to land with all expedition, to ſet fire to that part of the town which ſtood neareſt the ſhore, and deſtroy the barricades, with which they had ſtopped up the entrance of the fleet on that ſide; but if they met with too ſtrong an oppoſition, he was to make a ſpeedy retreat. His commands were executed with ſuch ſpeed and ſucceſs, that many houſes were all on a blaze, before the townſmen could make any oppoſition, the admiral having ordered a conſtant fire of his artillery to be made, to cover their deſcent. The inhabitants at length collected their forces on that ſide, and attacked the beſiegers with great bravery. A fierce action enſued, in which ſeventy of the garriſon were killed upon the ſpot, and but two on the Portugueſe ſide. Mean while the fire ſpread with ſuch fury and devaſtation, that the inhabitants were doubly diſtreſſed, being neceſſitated to fight the enemy, and extinguiſh the flames, which threatened the deſtruction of the whole city. Such was the violence of the heat, that the Portugueſe, no longer able to bear it, were forced to retire to their ſhips.

Almeida lands, and makes to the palace. Next morning, before break of day, the fire ſtill giving ſufficient light to enter the town, the admiral eaſily gained the ſhore, attended with his men, and advanced towards the royal palace, without meeting with any oppoſition; but ſuſpecting there might be ſome ambuſh, he forbore beginning the attack till it was broad day-light; when finding the ſtreets clear and defenceleſs, he ventured to paſs through them in his way to the palace; whilſt his ſon Laurence headed his men againſt another quarter of the town. Theſe, however, found the ſtreets and lanes ſo narrow and crouded by the inhabitants, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty and danger they could force their paſſage through vollies of ſtones and darts, which were thrown from the windows and tops of the houſes, and obſtructed their purſuit of thoſe who annoyed them in front, after they had forced them to give way. This annoyance at length enraged them to ſuch a degree, that they burſt open the doors, and forced their way up ſtairs, to the top; where, with incredible fury, they threw ſome down headlong, killing others, and putting the reſt to flight, the houſes being all contiguous, and the roofs a continued flat

The Portugueſe in imminent danger.

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from end to end. Even then the inhabitants ſoon found out a way to bar their purſuit, by demoliſhing here and there a houſe, and preventing the enemy's proceeding farther; by which ſtratagem, Laurence, who commanded the van, and Novio, who headed the rear, were ſo effectually parted, that they could no longer aſſiſt each other, but lay expoſed again to the ſtones and darts which were diſcharged at them on both ſides. In this emergency, they forced their paſſage into the roofs of other houſes; where, leaping from one to another, they re-united again, drove all before them, and bore down all oppoſition and danger.

Almeida gains the royal palace, which is abandoned by the king.

During the dreadful conteſt in this part of the city, Almeida and his men penetrated to the palace, which, to their great ſurprize, they found deſtitute of guards within and without; they therefore burſt open the gates, and made themſelves maſters of it without oppoſition. Whilſt they were breaking into it, the puſillanimous king had withdrawn through a back gate, with his wife and family, and as many of his houſhold as could follow him, and retired into a neighbouring wood of palm-trees, where, for ſome time, they lay concealed.

This laſt circumſtance was no ſooner known in the city than the inhabitants and garriſon, who till then had behaved with great great vigour and conduct, in defence of the place, began to loſe courage, and think of their own ſafety, eſpecially after they found the Portugueſe had ſet up their ſtandard and the croſs on the walls of the palace, and burned ſome merchant veſſels that lay in the harbour; ſo that a general panic diſperſed the greateſt part, and the reſt lay concealed where they could avoid the enemy's reſentment.

The king ſends terms of accommodation; which are rejected.

Whilſt the Portugueſe ſoldiers were refreſhing themſelves after their great fatigue, a new object appeared at a diſtance, which drew the attention of Almeida. It was one of the Arabs, who had followed the king into the wood, and was now come out with a white flag in his hand, which he waved to them, as if deſiring a parley. A man was immediately ſent to know what he had to offer; who anſwered, that the king would engage to become vaſſal and tributary to Portugal, on condition the city ſhould be exempt from plunder; he begged an interview with Almeida, and that hoſtages ſhould be given for his ſecurity. Almeida ſeemed at firſt willing to lend an ear to the propoſal, but would not ſend any other hoſtage than his gauntlet, and afterwards his helmet.

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Theſe not being looked upon as ſufficient pledges, and the king not appearing, the ſoldiers began to murmur, ſome being for plundering the city out of hand, and others for attacking the king in his entrenchments. But Almeida, thinking this laſt expedient would prove too dangerous and difficult, as the wood might ſerve them for an entrenchment, contented himſelf with giving up the place to be plundered. The ſpoil was inconſiderable, according to ſome writers, the inhabitants having timely conveyed away their moſt valuable effects; though others affirm it to have been ſo great, that they were obliged to leave much of it behind [b]; but all agree, that he found an immenſe quantity of arms and engines of war. The number of the ſlain was, of the Mombaſans fifteen hundred, and of the Portugueſe only five, one of whom, an ancient captain, named Ferdinand Decio, died of a wound in his foot from a poiſoned arrow. About two thouſand were made priſoners, of whom Almeida kept two hundred of the moſt conſiderable, and ſome of the handſomeſt women, and releaſed the reſt. To conclude this cataſtrophe, the ſoldiers had no ſooner done glutting their avarice, than the general ordered them to ſet fire to the city at three different quarters, by which above three parts were reduced to aſhes; though the poor remainder helped to invite its forlorn citizens to re-people and re-build it by degrees. What became of the unfortunate king we are not told; it is not however improbable that he went and put himſelf under the protection of his next neighbour the emperor of Monoemugi, to whom he became a vaſſal and tributary for that part of his kingdom which lies on the continent, whilſt the city and iſland of Mombaſo quickly reſumed its ancient grandeur, by becoming the reſidence of the king of Melinda, the old friend and ally, as well as vaſſal, of Portugal, and of the Portugueſe governor of all that coaſt. As for Almeida, he ſet ſail ſoon after for Melinda, in order to ſettle, probably, with that prince, the conditions on which he was to become poſſeſſor of Mombaſo, under the king his maſter; but, being prevented by a ſtorm, he was obliged to put into a bay about three leagues ſhort of it; whence he ſent his compliments and excuſe for not being able to wait upon him in perſon, with the preſents ſent to him by the court of Portugal. He ſtaid no longer here than till he had received an anſwer

The city plundered and ſet on fire.

Almeida's departure.

[b] Conſ. Marmol, lib. x. cap. 2. Oſſorio, lib. iv. Ramuſ. & al. ſupra citat.

to

to his message, and a plentiful supply of provisions from that monarch; after which, being joined by the remainder of his ships, he set sail again, in quest of certain rich Arabian vessels, which he was apprised, by good intelligence, would pass by that way, in less than a month, and fall into his hands if he kept a good look-out [c].

SECT. III.

The Kingdom of Mosambico.

Kingdom of Mosambico.

SAILING still farther southward on the same coast, the next kingdom of any note (H) is that called Mosambico, from its capital of that name, situate on an island under the 16th deg. of south latitude, the chief of the three isles which

[c] Osor, ubi supra, &c.

(H) We say of note, because it would carry us beyond our bounds to describe all those that lie on this coast, concerning which we know but few particulars beyond their names and situation, worth our readers notice.

We meet with two such kingdoms or states between that of Quiloa, mentioned in the last section, and this of Mosambico, viz. Mongalo and Angos. The former is a small kingdom near the mouth of the Cuama, well peopled, mostly with Arabs, who are Mohammedans, and drive a great commerce with that of Monomotapa, in gold, elephants teeth, gums, &c.

The other is called Angos, from its capital, and by the French and Italians, Angoche and Angochia. This capital is situated on another branch of the Cuama, about a hundred and sixty leagues from its other mouth. It is much smaller than that of Mongalo, which is said to extend far westward into the continent. Both of them are fruitful, producing abundance of rice and millet, and breed great quantities of cattle. The inhabitants of both are Mohammedans, intermixed with Negroes, who are idolaters, and are remarkable for the lowness of their stature. They go naked from the middle upwards; round the rest they wrap pieces of silk and cotton, wear a turban, or go bare-headed, according to their circumstances. They are all given to traffic, and chiefly with the kingdoms of Quiloa, Mombaso, Melinda, and Monomotapa, and in much the same sort of merchandizes.

These are all the particulars we know of these kingdoms, and that only with relation to the sea-coast; but of the inland we know still less, except that

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which compose this kingdom; the others are called by the Portuguese St. George and St. James, and all three lie at the mouth of the river Magincata or Megincata, between the kingdoms of Quiloa and Sofala.

A.D.1497. *First discovered.*

The celebrated Vasco de Gama was the first European we know of who discovered and came to an anchor near it, after his doubling the Cape of Good Hope: here it was that he informed himself about the main design of his voyage, the finding out a way into India by sea, and concerning the people who lived on this coast; and here he was apprised of the vast commerce carried on by them from one kingdom and sea-port to another. Among other particulars he learned, that this island, subject to the king of Quiloa, was one of the most considerable marts on all the Eastern coast; that it sent ships into Arabia, and many other parts of the world, and was resorted to by merchants from thence, who imported great variety of the richest commodities in great quantities. He was told that he had passed by a coast called Sofala, which abounded with gold mines, and was likewise a place of great commerce. For all which informations Gama gratified these courteous Arabs with an elegant collation, and some small presents.

We have had occasion to mention the kind reception which he met with from the brave governor Zacocia, who supposed them to be Mohammedans like himself, and the repulse he gave him upon the discovery of his being a Christian; which shews that the conquest and behaviour of the Portuguese on the western coast had by that time reached this, and had already rendered their name no less odious than dreaded; so that it was with great difficulty that the admiral escaped being destroyed by those zealous Mohammedans. His successors on the coast proved more fortunate in a short time, as may be judged by the conquests they have made on it, and particularly on this island. Having artfully obtained leave from one of those Arabian cheiks to build a fort, which might be a safeguard to them both, they have since made themselves masters of

that the inhabitants are a brutish generation, who go stark naked, and live chiefly on the flesh of elephants and other wild beasts (1).

(1) De his vide Od. Barbos. ubi supra. Pigafet. Congo, lib. ii. cap. 28. Linschot. Guin. cap. 7. Le Blanc. part ii. cap. v. Davity, Dapper, La Croix, & al.

it,

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it, engrossed the whole commerce, and made that port one of the securest for rest and refreshment; or, if the winds and weather do not favour, even for wintering commodiously, in their passage to and from the East Indies. The only misfortune is, that the island lying low, and the town being surrounded with marshes, the air is not quite so healthy as could be wished; but in all other respects it abounds with almost every conveniency for life and pleasure. *The island described.*

It labours, however, under a scarcity of fresh water, having only one spring, which rises among some palm-trees at a small distance from the town, and is quickly exhausted; so that the inhabitants are obliged to fetch most of it from a place called Cabbacero, on the continent, and to preserve it in earthen jars. They have likewise very large cisterns to receive the rain water, both for their kitchens and gardens. *In want of water.*

The island of Mosambico, though the largest of the three, is nevertheless very small, not being above two bow-shots in breadth, and about six in length, about two miles from the continent. The bay is about three miles in circuit, so that the points of land on each side advance into the sea. The other two, of St. George and St. James, lie on each side of it, facing the continent in a direct line with it. Over against that of St. George, and about a mile from it, is the cape called by the Portuguese Cabo Cetra, which is a peninsula, joined to the continent by a small neck of land, covered with sea at high, but fordable at low water. There are some smaller islands between that and the head-land, inhabited by Mohammedans, the most considerable of which are those of St. Christopher, of the Holy Ghost, Magliaglia, Comoro, Anzama, and Majotta[d]. The bay, which serves for a haven both for the islands and continent, is convenient and safe, seldom having less than eight or ten fathom depth of water, and that so clear, that one may see every bank, rock, and shallow, and may sail into it without a pilot[e]. *Several other islands near it.*

The city of Mosambico, according to the Dutch pilot Verheoven's journal, is very handsome, the houses well built, especially the churches and convents, and the fort or castle is about a musquet-shot from the town. Much the same description of it is given by captain Paul Caer- *The city described.*

[d] Linschot Guin. cap. 8. Moneth. Voyag. & al. [e] P. Caerden two Voyag. in India. Ramus. La Martiniere, Jarric, & al.

den;

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den; who adds, that the convent of the Dominicans is likewiſe an hoſpital for the ſick; and great need there is for ſuch a place, conſidering the inhabitants of the iſland, and the number of ſhips which winter there in bad ſeaſons, beſides thoſe which paſs to and from the East Indies. The fort is likewiſe one of the ſtrongeſt and beſt contrived the Portugueſe have on this coaſt. It is of a ſquare form, and each corner is flanked by a bulwark, with ſome pieces of artillery, which are a ſufficient fence both to the town and the haven. It is ſurrounded with a threefold rampart, and a large ditch, and hath ſtood proof againſt all the attempts of the Dutch [f].

The importance of it to the Portugueſe.

Upon the whole, this port of Moſambico is, as it were, the key of the East Indies to the Portugueſe, and if once it were loſt, or wreſted from them by any European trading nation, they would hardly be able to carry on that extenſive commerce, it being almoſt impoſſible to continue their voyage without ſuch a place of refreſhment and refuge. It is alſo of great importance to them, as the means to keep ſo many kingdoms in awe, both along the coaſt and the adjacent iſlands, which are either their allies or tributaries, and ſecures to them the free, if not the ſole commerce with Sofala and Monomotapa, whence they export ſuch quantities of gold and other rich commodities. We need not, therefore, wonder that the Dutch made ſo many ſtrenuous attempts to wreſt it out of their hands, particularly anno 1606, when Paul Van Caerden, their admiral, laid ſiege to it with forty ſtout ſhips; but finding all his efforts fruſtrated, he was glad to raiſe it, and continue his voyage to the Indies [g].

Soil and Produce.

The ſoil of the iſland is nothing elſe but a white barren ſand, yet have the richer ſort found means to procure an artificial mould in ſeveral parts of the iſland, on which grow very fine citrons, oranges, ananas, figs, and other fruits, notwithſtanding their great ſcarcity of water; but the far greater part of their pulſe, roots, and other eſculents, are brought thither from the continent.

It is far otherwiſe at land, where the ground is fat and fertile in rice, millet, variety of roots, pulſe, fruits, and plants. Among others of this laſt kind they have one called by the Portugueſe, pao d'antak, *antak wood*, which ſpreads itſelf along the ground not unlike the ariſtolochum longum, and bears a grain like our peaſe, but ſomewhat

[f] P. Van Caerden, Davity, Le Croix, & al. ſup. citat. [g] Paul Caerden's Voyage into India.

more

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more long and soft, of a green colour; but the chief virtue lies in the root, which, as they say, is a sovereign remedy against the distemper of that name, which is occasioned by a too great familiarity of the Europeans with the Negroe women of that country, that being the only remedy they know against it. They make likewise several pleasant liquors from their fruits; but the most common among them is made of millet, and called huyembo, or puembo [h].

Wild beasts, fowl, &c.

They likewise breed vast quantities of cattle, large and small, particularly sheep with large tails. They swarm with wild beasts of various kinds, as stags and wild boars, but especially elephants, which are so fierce and destructive, that the inhabitants are obliged to kindle large fires round their sown fields, to prevent their being devoured by them. Neither dare they stir far from their homes without lighted torches or firebrands in their hands to frighten them away; and even with these they have much ado to save themselves from being destroyed, especially by those of the females which have young. The woods are likewise filled with game of all sorts, and particularly with a kind of wild poultry, not unlike our common sort, excepting that they are as large as our turkies, spotted with white and grey, though with smaller heads in proportion, and short combs, but thicker, and of a more vivid red. Their flesh is black, but delicious above all other fowl, as their hogs, which are here in great abundance, excel all other flesh; insomuch that the physicians not only permit, but prescribe it to their patients, when they forbid them all other kinds. As to the fowl above mentioned, it is not only delicious but healthy, and some of them eat them quite raw, without reluctance or inconveniency. The only defect it hath is its blackness, which is such, that when boiled, it turns the broth of the same disgustful hue, not unlike ink; but it makes ample amends by its exquisite taste and flavour, as well as by the wholsome nourishment it yields [i].

The country hath likewise rich mines of gold, which is washed down by their rivers in great quantities, and makes a chief part of its commerce. Ivory, ebony, slaves, and cattle, are likewise exchanged for European goods, such as little bells, knives, sciffars, and razors. These last are so valued among them, that they will give fifteen

[h] Texeira Gen. de Pers. lib. i. cap. 6. Davity, & al. sup. citat.
[i] La Croix, Dapper, & alib. citat.

cows,

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Means made use of to carry on their commerce.

cows for one of them[1]. They have also some mines of silver and other metals, but the inhabitants make no traffic of them, and are indeed so mistrustful of strangers, that they care not to have any dealings with them; but confine themselves wholly to the coasters, to whom they convey their merchandize in little boats made of a single piece of timber. This is their usual way of conveying them along these coasts; but if the nature or quantity of their cargo requires a more capacious vessel, they commonly make it of planks, joined together with ropes of the bark of palm-trees, without the assistance of nails or wooden pegs, which they either know not or neglect the use of; and upon their return, they can untie the boards, and set them out to dry against the next occasion.

The Portuguese, however, of whom they stand in awe, are the only Europeans admitted into some of their seaports, whence they export, besides the commodities already mentioned, silver, copper, wax, rice, and other provisions; but to all other Europeans they refuse every kind of access on any pretence.

The barbarous disposition of the inhabitants.

The truth is, the farther we advance into the continent the more fierce and brutish they are found. They all go naked, men and women, and only cover the middle before and behind with a piece of cotton cloth, or with a broad leaf. So unnatural are they to one another, that the fathers will sell their children for slaves, for a shirt, a knife, some glass beads, or other such trinkets, and feast on the flesh of those whom they take prisoners in war. They are treacherous, thievish, and malicious, but stout and fit for labour, and seem designed by nature for slavery, which is a condition less dreadful to them than it is to the inhabitants of the opposite or western coast, as those of Kongo, Angola, and Loango. As this continent is divided into a variety of lordships or petty kingdoms, which have each a particular language or dialect, and are frequently at war one with another, it is no wonder that such a commerce for slaves is carried on between them and the coasters: for those petty tyrants make a considerable gain of the prisoners they make, whether they condemn them to be sold for slaves or for meat for the shambles, according as they will fetch the greatest price.

Their dress.

Though they affect to go naked, yet they are not without various kinds of finery, such as collars, bracelets on

[1] Pyrar, Dap. Davity, tom. ii. cap. 17. Sanut. lib. 12. Linschot, Guin. cap. 3. & al ubi sup.

their

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their arms and legs, whether of gold, ſilver, ivory, coloured glaſs, or any other materials, according to their rank. They likewiſe affect to have very protuberant lips, and, to render them the more ſo, will fix pieces of flat gold, amber, or bone, one above the upper, and the other under the nether lip. They have alſo a way of painting their bodies with a kind of red earth, eſpecially upon ſome grand meetings or feſtivities, which gives them a very grim appearance, though they eſteem it as a mark of courage and fierceneſs. Their weapons are the bow and arrow, the hatchet and the dagger, together with any other kind they can procure by way of traffic. Linſchot, who did not penetrate into the inland country, affirms them to be partly idolaters and partly Mohammedans; but what Pyrard ſays of them is the moſt probable; viz. that they have no religion at all, but only, like the reſt of the Caffers, obſerve ſome ſuperſtitious cuſtoms, not worthy to bear that name; and it is on the coaſts alone that many of them, by converſing with the Arabs, have been induced to become Mohammedans. We do not read of any manufactures or trades among them, except that of making their canoes, which we have already deſcribed, and that of weaving a kind of mats, which they make neatly, of various ſorts, and ſend to the coaſts, whence they are exported to ſeveral parts of India.

Weapons.

Religion.

Trades.

The kings of Portugal have ſpared no coſt to fortify and garriſon Mozambico, and to provide it with a noble hoſpital for the ſick, and a well-ſtored magazine, with all neceſſaries for the ſhipping, though the charge of keeping them up often exceeds the revenues it affords.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Sofala.

SAILING ſtill ſouthward, along the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, we come to Sofala, or Sefalo, or, as others write it, Zephala, and Cephala, that famous and opulent kingdom, which, for its rich golden mines, hath been ſuppoſed by ſeveral learned men to be the Ophir, whence king Solomon drew yearly ſuch prodigious quantities of that precious metal[k].

Kingdom of Sofala deſcribed.

[k] Dapper.

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Its extent. It is, properly speaking, a continued coast, extending from the river Cuama on the north, to that of Magnico, since called Rio de Spirito Sancto, on the south; that is, from the 17th to the 25th degree of south latitude; and having Cape Corientes about 2 degrees south of the latter, according to the latest observations [l]. It is bounded on the east by the Indian sea, and on the west by the empire of Monomotapa; deriving its name from its capital, which D'Herbelot calls Sofalat Al Dheheb, which, in the Arabic, signifies a *low* or *hollow place*, where is gold, or more properly, a gold mine [m].

A.D. 1500. As to the metropolis of Sofala, it was, at the arrival of the Portuguese, but an inconsiderable town, neither large nor walled, fenced only with a thorny hedge; but it hath been since fortified, and in every respect very much improved by them, and called Cuama, as well as the fort, which they built for its defence. That name, however, hath been since obliterated, and both pilots and geographers hath retained its old appellation of Sofala.

Situation of the capital. It is conveniently situated on a small island at the mouth of the Cuama above mentioned. There are besides, two towns on the coast, one called Haulema, and the other Dardema, with the villages of Savona, Bocha, and Gasta, and some others, all of them mean, and worthy of no farther notice.

Gnaia, the Portuguese admiral, builds a fort upon the island. Francesco Gnaia, or, as others call him, Anaga, the Portuguese admiral of the East India fleet, was the first who came to anchor at Sofala, and obliged the king, whom Marmol calls Jusef, a Mohammedan, blind with old age, the liberty of building a fortress near it, which he said would be of great service to his majesty as well as to himself. This favour, however, appears to have been granted to him at the recommendation of Zacote, an Arabian, wholly in the interest of the Portuguese, and in great credit and authority with the old prince. He helped to forward that work, sent them intelligence of every thing that passed at court, and informed them of every particular relating to the nature of the country and the manners of the inhabitants. This fortress hath proved of the greatest importance to the Portuguese, as it renders this a safe harbour for their ships sailing to and from India, and secures their commerce with the Caffers of the inland, which is very considerable, as it consists in gold, ambergris, slaves,

[l] D'Anville. [m] Biblioth. Orient.

and

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and elephants teeth, which they exchange for ſilk, ſtuffs, cotton, glaſs beads of various makes and colours, and other ſuch trinkets. Both the fortreſs and the iſland, as tributary to the king of Portugal, are under the direction and government of Moſambico [n].

The river Cuama, at the mouth of which the city and fortreſs of Sofala are ſituate, is by the Arabs and Negroes called Zambere and Empondo. Its head-ſpring hath not hitherto been diſcovered by the Europeans, but it ſurrounds, in ſome meaſure, the kingdom of Monomotapa, dividing it on the weſt from that of Abutua, on the north from thoſe of Chicova, Sacomba, and Mauruca. It receives in its courſe, among others of leſſer note, the Mangania, Mazeno, and Suabo, and, dividing into two branches, diſcharges itſelf into the Indian ſea, at four mouths, from north to ſouth, diſtinguiſhed by as many names; namely, Kilimano, Linda, Cuama, and Luava; or, according to others, the Penhamez, Lunagoa, Arruyga, Manjovo, Guadire, and Rueriva. *River Cuama.*

The other river was called formerly Magnico, and by the Portugueſe, Rio del Lagos; but has ſince adopted the name of Rio del Sancto Spirito given it by Laurence Marſhes. Its ſource is not better known than that of the Cuama, but is ſuppoſed by ſome geographers to be the ſame, namely, the lake Goyama. After a ſhort courſe, it is ſaid to part into the two ſtreams or branches above mentioned; the ſouthern was therefore called Rio de los Lagos, or *the River of the Lakes*, but ſtill retains its old name of Magnico. Nothing can be affirmed concerning theſe two rivers deſcending from the ſame lake, and being branches of one and the ſame river. However, this we are ſure of, that the Cuama is by much the larger and deeper of the two, being increaſed by the three large rivers above mentioned, and by ſeveral others not much inferior to them, is navigable above one hundred and fifty leagues, and hath many large iſlands, beſides thoſe formed by its ſeveral mouths [o]. It likewiſe waſhes down great quantities of gold, which the Negroes gather, when the rivers are low, by diving into ſuch nooks as they know, by long practice, to have the greateſt plenty in them, and bringing the mud out of them, which, being properly levigated, yields the metal in large *The Magnico.*

[n] Sanut, Linſchot, Ramuſ. Marmol, lib. ix. cap. ii & ſeq. Offer. lib. iv. Davity, Dapper, Le Croix, & alib. [o] Marmol, lib. ix. cap. 30. Ramuſ. Davity, Dapper, La Croix, & al. See alſo De Liſle and D'Anville's Maps.

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or ſmall grains. A great deal more might be found, were they not ſuch idle wretches, that nothing can make them work but extremity of hunger and want.

The chief capes. The three principal capes on the coaſt of Sofala, are called Corientes, St. Catherine, and St. Sebaſtian. The firſt, ſituate under the 23d deg. of ſouth latitude, is noted for the many rocks, ſands, and ſhelves, which lie between it and the iſle of St. Laurence, or Madagaſcar. The reſt of the land from the ſaid cape to the mouth of the Cuama, is called Matuca, and hath ſome gold mines, not far from the town of Sofala, and in the precinct called Manico.

The inland part of the kingdom doth not extend far weſtward, being confined on that ſide by Monomotopa. Marmol computes it to be in compaſs ſeven hundred and fifty leagues. The temperature, ſoil, and produce of it are much the ſame as that of Zanguebar, excepting that as it is ſo much farther from the line, its heat is not ſo exceſſive, and the land is more fertile in rice, millet, and paſturage. But the moſt fruitful part in this laſt, lies between the Cape Corientes and the river del Sancto Spirito, where the greateſt quantities of cattle are bred, eſpecially of the larger kind, the inhabitants having ſcarcely any other fuel but cows dung, the country being much expoſed to the ſoutherly winds, which are equally piercing on that, as our northern gales are on this ſide of the line: and here it is alſo that the elephants herd in large droves, and are killed in ſuch prodigious quantities, their fleſh being the chief food of the common people: according to their report, they ſeldom deſtroy leſs than between four and five thouſand one year with another; an aſſertion in a great meaſure confirmed by the vaſt quantity of ivory which is thence exported by the Europeans [p].

The other part of the country, from the cape above mentioned, quite up to the Cuama, and eſpecially all along that river, is encumbered with mountains, covered with large woods; the vallies being watered by a variety of ſprings and ſmall rivulets, are very fertile and agreeable; and this is the quarter in which the king and court ſpend the greateſt part of the year. Among other delightful advantages, it enjoys, we are told, ſuch an odoriferous verdure, that, the coaſts being low on that ſide, the fragrancy which exhales therefrom is frequently perceived by mariners at a great diſtance, before the land itſelf appears. The ſoil of the province of Matuca is rich and fertile, but

[p] Marmol. lib. ix. cap. 30.

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from the Cape of Corientes to the river Sancto Spirito, it is rough and barren, and leſs inhabited, except by elephants, lions, and other wild creatures [q].

The natives of Sofala are for the moſt part black, with ſhort curled hair, there being but very few tawny or brown amongſt them. Their ſhape is taller and more genteel than that of the Negroes of Moſambico, Quiloa, &c. and thoſe who live near the Cape Corientes, are eſteemed the moſt courteous of any of the Caffers that inhabit the coaſt from thence to the Cape of Good Hope. Their common dreſs is the ſame with thoſe of Moſambico, a piece of ſilk or cotton wrapped round the middle, covering them down to the knees, all the reſt of the body being naked, except the head, the better ſort wearing a kind of turban. All of them adorn their necks, arms, wriſts, legs, and ancles, with rings of gold, ſilver, amber, or coloured beads, according to their condition. Theſe ſtuffs and trinkets are moſtly brought to them from Bombay by the Portugueſe; and thoſe of the better ſort affect to wear ſwords with handles of ivory. All the coaſters ſpeak the Arabic tongue, which is their natural language; for they are not the original natives, but the deſcendants of the Arabs, who left their native country, and ſettled more or leſs upon this weſtern coaſt: but as theſe of Sofala, as well as moſt of the reſt, carry on a commerce with the Caffers, they likewiſe underſtand their language as well as the Portugueſe, ſince theſe laſt have ſettled among them [r].

Dreſs of the inhabitants.

Language.

They cultivate plenty of rice and millet, which ſerves them for bread; and eat the fleſh of elephants, large and ſmall cattle, beſides fiſh, of which both the ſea and rivers yield a great plenty and variety. They have likewiſe their beer made of rice and millet, and ſome other liquors made of honey, palm, and other fruits: the honey is here in ſuch plenty, that a great part of it lies neglected; no more being gathered by the indolent people than ſerves that purpoſe, or for extracting ſo much wax out of it, as will procure them painted cotton or ſilk, and other clothes in exchange. For though they make great quantities of white cloths, they have not yet the art of dying them, and are obliged to ſend them, or at leaſt their thread, to be died in Cambay or other places. They are often forced to buy the printed cloths, and undo the thread of them, in order to mix with their ſtriped ſtuffs, when they cannot

Diet and drink.

[q] Davity, Dapper, La Croix, & al. ubi ſupra. [r] Pigafeta Congo, lib. ii. cap. 8. Od. Barbos, Davity, & al.

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procure it from abroad. Their chief commerce here is with the inhabitants of Mosambico, Quiloa, Mombaso, and Melinda, who come hither in their sambucs or small barges, which are freighted with variety of the above mentioned cloths of all colours, and they exchange them for gold, ivory, wax, or ambergrise.

Rich gold mines. But besides the gold which they draw from Monomotapa, the kingdom of Sofala hath some very considerable mines of that valuable metal, which, by the report of the Portuguese inhabitants, yield to the value of above two millions of metigals yearly, each metigal valued at about fourteen French livres; the merchantmen from Zidem, Mecca, and other parts, export, in time of peace, about the same quantity from the same mines. We are farther told, that the governor of Mosambico's salary, whose place lasts only three years, amounted to three hundred thousand crowns, exclusive of the pay of his troops, and the yearly tribute he is obliged to send to the king of Portugal, which Davity calls a third part of his product. As for the soldiery, they are paid in gold dust, each according to his rank. The same author farther assures us, that this gold, which is paid to them just as it was gathered, is so pure, and of so fine a yellow, that our's, compared to it, appears little better than copper. Hence it is, that Mouquet hath, after other learned men, ventured to affirm, that it was from these mines that Solomon had his, which is so highly commended by the sacred historian; and that the kingdom of Sofala is the Ophir celebrated by them[r]; this being allowed to be the purest and finest in all Africa.

Warlike weapons. At the first arrival of the Portugueſe, the people used no other warlike weapons than the scymeter, the javelin, the bow and arrow, to which they sometimes added the dagger and the hatchet: but they have been since taught the use of fire-arms both small and great[s], and are become very

Forces. dexterous in the use of them. Their king maintains a great number of forces in pay; but the Portuguese are become so powerful, that they keep the whole kingdom in awe; and their chief governor employs vessels of observation to prevent what they have now made an illicit trade, particularly that of the exportation of gold without his special licence.

Religion. The Mohammedan religion is, according to Pigafeta, and the generality of Dutch writers[t], that of the king and

[r] Mouquet, lib. iv. [s] Osſor. lib. iv. Marmol, ubi supra. Davity, & al. [t] Congo, lib. ii. cap. 9. Spilberg, & al.

court,

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court, and of a great part of the people; but it is more likely, as Jarric obſerves[u], that the original natives live wholly without any religion, good or bad; and that the Arabs alone, who ſettled on this coaſt, are the only Mohammedans, except ſome few proſelytes they may have made amongſt thoſe Negroes, for the ſake of commerce, ſeeing all the merchants who come hither from Quiloa, Mombaſo, and Melinda, are of that religion. The Arabs, who had been ſettled on that coaſt above two centuries, might be grown powerful enough, in that time, to have a king of their own probably, at the leaſt tributary to, and under the protection of, the emperor of Monomotapa, to ſubdue the inland natives, without forcing their religion upon them; eſpecially, if what Marmol ſays be true, that though they uſe no outward act of religion, have neither idols, altars, nor ſacrifices, yet they acknowlege one ſupreme Being, whom they call Mozimo, or Guimguimo, but abhor the idolatrous rites of the reſt of the African Negroes, and their prieſts, and puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity; not ſo much out of a religious principle, as becauſe they think them deſtructive to ſociety.

Theft and and adultery ſeverely puniſhed.

They puniſh two other crimes with the ſame rigour; namely, theft and adultery; and ſo ſevere are they with reſpect to this laſt, that they make it death for any man to be found ſitting upon a ſofa or mat with a married woman, though, like the Turks, they allow of polygamy. They never marry a woman till ſhe hath had her monthly courſes, as deeming her incapable of having children till then; at which time the family make a kind of rejoicing and feſtivity in her favour.

Ceremonies towards the dead.

If they have any thing like a religious ceremony, it is in obſerving ſome particular days of the moon, as the firſt, ſixth, ſeventh, eleventh, and ſixteenth, on which they pay a kind of offering to their dead friends, particularly to their parents, whoſe bones, after the fleſh is conſumed, they preſerve in a place appropriated to that uſe. In remembrance of their owing their being to them, they ſet plenty of victuals before them, and make their requeſts to them, as if ſtill alive, the chief of which is for the preſervation of the king's life and proſperity. Their petitions ended, they ſit down in their white garments, which is the proper colour on theſe occaſions, and eat up what had been ſerved to the dead[w]. All this, however, may

[u] Theſaur. Ind. lib. iv. [w] Marmol. ibid.

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imply nothing more than a decent reſpect paid to their parents, anceſtors, and other near relations, in the ſame manner as we have ſeen it practiſed in China, where it was inſtituted for wiſe and good purpoſes.

We are told by Pigafeta, that one of thoſe Mohammedan kings revolted from their ancient allegiance, and put himſelf under the protection of the king of Portugal: and we have elſewhere had occaſion to mention the ſingular and hoſpitable reception which admiral Gnaia met with at his firſt landing in this kingdom from the old blind monarch then upon the throne, and his obtaining leave of him to build a fort near his capital; a circumſtance which (whether he was the ſame with that mentioned before or not) plainly ſhews his readineſs to take the firſt opportunity that was offered to ſhake off the Monomotapan yoke [x].

The reader may remember the account we have given at the beginning of this ſection, of the firſt arrival of Gnaia, or Anaya, at Sofala, and of the kind reception he met with from the good old Mohammedan king Juſef, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the Arabs againſt his landing, the dangers they told him he muſt run, before he could reach the royal palace, and the difficulty he would find to get acceſs to the king. Gnaia inſtructed his friend Zacote, who had already ſecured him a ſingular welcome, ſailed forward, and met with all the ſucceſs he could deſire: the king not only granted him free leave to build the fortreſs, but, as a farther token of his regard to his nation, delivered up to him about a ſcore of his countrymen, who had been lately ſhipwrecked on that coaſt, and of whom he had taken the moſt hoſpitable care.

Reception of the Portugueſe diſapproved.

The king had a ſon-in-law named Mengo Muçaf, a brave warlike prince, who made no ſcruple to lay before him his preſent apprehenſions at his reception and admittance of thoſe ſtrangers into his dominions, and much more ſo at his permitting them to fortify themſelves in them, at the imminent hazard of his own and his ſubjects ſafety. The old king contented himſelf, whatever his views might be, with diſſipating his fears, and telling him that time, which brings forth all things, would quickly diſcover to him his motives for thus encouraging theſe ſo much dreaded ſtrangers. "You will, continued he, in a little time, perceive them dwindled into nothing, through

[x] Oſſorio, lib. iv.

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the heat and inclemency of a climate they are unaccuſtomed to; and then it will be time enough to drive them out of their fort, if they do not abandon it of their own accord. The kind reception I have given them was merely to remove all ſuſpicion from them of my deſign." The prince acquieſced in his reaſons, and the work of the fortreſs was carried on with double vigour, the king having ordered his ſubjects to give them all the aſſiſtance in their power [y]. But what moſt alarmed his majeſty, and obliged him to alter his meaſures, was the pathetic remonſtrances of his faithful Mohammedan merchants to awaken him to a ſenſe of his imminent danger from the well-known perfidy of the Portugueſe nation.

We have already had occaſion to mention more than once the ſtrenuous oppoſition which the Arabians ſettled on this eaſtern coaſt made againſt the encouragement which ſome of theſe princes, particularly thoſe of Quiloa and Mombaſo, gave the Portugueſe adventurers. They made the ſame ſtruggle here againſt the weakneſs of their ſuperannuated monarch, and addreſſing themſelves to him in a body, reminded him of the repeated warnings they had given him of the treacherous views of the Portugueſe, who, under the maſk of friendſhip, concealed the moſt wicked deſigns.

The king is alarmed againſt them.

This remonſtrance had the deſired effect. The alarmed monarch began now to ſee his folly and danger, and to think of the propereſt means to avoid the ill conſequences of his complacency. He aſſembled a ſufficient number of troops, and appointed a day to fall upon the Portugueſe, whilſt they were employed in building their fort. Unhappily for him, the Arabians had a traitor among them, whom we lately mentioned, under the name of Zacote, or Acote, who betrayed all his ſecrets to them, and failed not on this occaſion to ſend them timely notice of his deſigns, which gave Gnaia an opportunity of putting himſelf in a condition to give them a warm reception. Accordingly, on the day appointed, the Sofalans attacked the fort with great fury, by throwing a number of fiery ſtakes into it, whilſt others were aſſailing the walls with their warlike engines. The beſieged, with Gnaia at their head, made a ſtout defence; but, being reduced to thirty-five men, the reſt being either ſick or wounded, they would have had but a poor chance againſt ſix thouſand, had not, luckily for them, Zacote found means to enter the fort, at

Beſieges the fort.

[y] Marmol. lib. ix. cap. 34.

the head of one hundred men; who immediately fell upon the beſiegers. A deſperate conflict enſued, in which the Portugueſe, being thus timely reinforced, began to diſcharge their darts and artillery with double vigour; which, in a little time, ſo annoyed and terrified them, that they fled with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving them in quiet poſſeſſion of their new fortreſs. The victors purſued them with ſpeed and fury, not only into the city, but the royal palace, into which they forced their way. They even crouded into the apartment where the old king had retired, and found him lying on his couch; but their inſolence ſoon rouſed his courage and bravery, inſomuch that old and blind as he was, he haſtily aroſe, and darted ſeveral javelins at them, ſome of which failed not of doing execution among them, as they crowded ſo thick upon him. Several of them were wounded, and amongſt them Gnaia in the neck, when on a ſudden a Portugueſe officer advanced with his drawn ſcymeter towards the king, and at one blow ſtruck off his head, an execution which filled his attendants with dread and horror.

The king repulſed.

Purſued to his palace.

His noble defence.

Is murdered.

Gnaia's artful ſpeech to the Sofalans.

Here Gnaia, fully ſatisfied with ſeeing the old king weltering in his blood, had recourſe to clemency, and immediately forbad his men to offer any farther violence towards a people whom he wanted to gain by acts of friendſhip and benevolence, rather than affright with any other proofs of the Portugueſe bravery and martial proweſs. He ſaid, as they had by this time ſufficiently experienced the one, he was now ready and willing to give them the moſt convincing proofs of the other, by acts of humanity and compaſſion. This plauſible ſpeech, whether it wrought moſt upon their fears or hopes, had the deſired effect; and the Sofalans, finding they had to do with a nation that was too ſtrong and artful, not only forbore all farther hoſtilities, but patiently ſubmitted their necks to a yoke which they have never been able to ſhake off to this day [a].

Marmol's palliative account of that revolution.

Prince Muçaf, however, having rallied his ſcattered troops, again laid ſiege to the fort, but met with ſuch oppoſition, that he was obliged to raiſe it in three days, his tired Arabs being by this time become more ſolicitous to chooſe a new king, than to revenge the death of their deceaſed monarch. The conteſt lay between the ſon of the defunct named Soliman, a great friend and patron of Zacote, and Muçaf his ſon-in-law, a prince of greater abilities and merit, who would, in all probibility, have been

[a] Marmol, Oſſorio, & al. ſupra citat.

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nominated to the ſucceſſion, had not Zacote, by his intereſt and perſuaſions, obtained it in favour of Soliman, and prevailed upon Gnaia to confirm him king of Sofala: but the good biſhop Oſſorio, far from mentioning any ſuch inſtance of the Portugueſe admiral's regard to the ſon of the late Juſef, or of the perfidious Zacote's ingratitude to that prince, aſſures us, in expreſs terms, 'that the former beſtowed the crown on the latter by his own authority, and as a reward for his great ſervices to the Portugueſe [b].

Gnaia's death.

Gnaia had hardly begun to taſte the fruits of his ſucceſs, when he was cut off by a diſtemper which ſeized him, owing to the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, occaſioned by the vaſt number of its marſhes, which, being in ſummer dried up by the ſcorching heat of the ſun, infect the air with their peſtilential ſteams. The Portugueſe were ſeized with an exceſſive weakneſs in their bodies, and dimneſs of ſight, which, in a little time, turned into a waſting conſumption, and carried off a great number of them, and among the reſt the admiral above mentioned; in whoſe room Emanuel Ferdinando, the old king's aſſaſſin, was choſen by the unanimous conſent of all the officers. The news of this event was ſoon ſent to Almeida the governor of Goa, then in India, who received about the ſame time an account of the revolution which had lately happened in Quiloa, by the murder of the new made king Mahmud, by the partiſans of Braham. Almeida thereupon diſpatched Novico Vaſquez Pereira, with a commiſſion to ſail for Sofala, and take the government of the fort upon him; but with orders likewiſe to touch at Quiloa, and ſettle the commotions raiſed there on account of the king's murder, and to puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity all that had been acceſſory to it.

Succeeded by the murderer of the king.

A mortality amongſt the Portugueſe.

In the mean time the Portugueſe garriſon of Sofala was ſo dreadfully afflicted with the badneſs of the climate, and the diſeaſes which then raged among them, had carried off ſo many of them, that Ferdinand, who had ſucceeded Gnaia, could with great difficulty reſtrain the ſmall remainder from abandoning it, when, in a lucky hour, the Portugueſe ſhips arrived at the port, with a freſh ſupply of men, arms, and proviſions. This enabled them to hold it till freſh troops and other reinforcements were ſent thither from Goa, with the new governor, who ſoon ſettled the fortreſs and garriſon in ſuch a condition that they have held it ever ſince, and obliged the Sofalans to accept of

Timely relief from Goa.

[b] Oſor. lib. iv.

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such kings as they shall please to set over them; by which means they have kept the kingdom under tribute, and engrossed that rich and advantageous commerce to themselves. How long their new-made king, whether prince Soliman, or the perfidious Zacote, enjoyed his dignity, and who were his successors, we are not informed. We are told indeed by a Dutch writer [c], that the king of Sofala was a Portuguese by birth, at the time of his writing his book: but Jarric will have it that he was only a tributary to Portugal [d]. But most writers agree that its kings were formerly tributary to the emperor of Monomotapa, till anno 1507, when Gnaia and his successors reduced it under the power of king Emanuel. However, it is not improbable, that some of those emperors afterwards made themselves masters of the greatest part of the continent, and have confined the Portuguese to the sea-coast; though they have been since forced to refund it with interest, and to yield to them, besides some of their best gold mines, a tract of ground of above one hundred and sixty leagues in their own dominions, both which they have kept ever since the year 1640, as we shall have occasion to shew under the next section.

SECT. V.

The History of the Empire of Monomotapa, or Munemotapa.

Monomotapa, whence so called.

MONOMOTAPA is, next to the empire of Abyssinia, one of the largest in all Africa. Some call it Benemotapa, and others Benemoaxo: the name of Benemotapa, we are told, is the common title of its monarchs, as Cæsar was that of the Roman emperors; but, according to Texeira, it ought to be written Munæ Motapa, because the kings who are seated beyond the Caffers call themselves Mune, instead of Mani. However that be, the Portuguese more justly style him the *Emperor of the Gold*, on account of the many rich mines which are within his dominions. Monomotapa, properly so called, lies contiguous to Sofala, on the east, and is, like that, inclosed by the river Cuama on the north, and that of Magnico, or of the *Holy Ghost*, on the south; extending westward between those two rivers as far as their spring heads;

Its extent, limits, and situation.

[c] Spilberg. Navig. 1601. vide & Sanut, lib. xii. [d] Thes. Ind. Orient. lib. iii. cap. 8.

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ſo that whilſt Sofala belonged to it, as it formerly did, it might be properly called an iſland, ſurrounded on one ſide with ſalt, and on the other with freſh water, and in extent between ſeven and eight hundred leagues in circuit. It is ſituate between the 14th and 25th degrees of ſouth latitude, and between the 41ſt and 56th of eaſt longitude, or ſix hundred and ſeventy miles from north to ſouth, and ſix hundred and fifteen from eaſt to weſt [e]. But if we take in all the other inferior kingdoms, which are either ſubject or tributary to it, it will extend vaſtly farther; ſouthward almoſt as far the Cape of Good Hope, and on the north-weſt as far as the confines of the kingdom of Congo; for ſo far on theſe two ſides the authority of its monarchs is ſaid to prevail; though on the weſt, and part of the north-weſt, it is confined by that of Monoemugi [f], of which we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel.

Climate, ſoil, and produce.

The climate of Monomotapa is temperate, notwithſtanding the far greater part of it lies within the ſouthern tropic; the air is clear and healthy, the ſoil fertile, and ſo well watered, as to abound with paſture grounds, on which are bred vaſt multitudes of cattle, eſpecially of the larger ſort, which the inhabitants ſet a higher value on than on their gold. Their ground produces plenty of rice, millet, and other grain, though no wheat. They have great variety of excellent fruit-trees, and abundance of ſugar-cane, which grows here without any culture. Their foreſts ſwarm with wild beaſts, and various kinds of game; their rivers, of which they have a great number, abound not only with fiſh, but with gold likewiſe, which they ſweep away from the mines through which they run; yet, in ſpight of all this abundance, the country is, for the moſt part, but thinly inhabited. Except thoſe lands which are watered by the Cuama and Sancto Spirito, and a number of others which flow into them, the reſt of the inland parts are ſandy, dry, or barren; inſomuch that the few inhabitants that live in them are forced to go a great way for water to waſh their gold duſt, whenever their ciſterns fail them for want of rain, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

Wild and tame beaſts.

They have neither horſes nor any other beaſts of burthen; but vaſt herds of elephants, moſtly wild, of which they deſtroy ſeveral thouſands yearly, as may be eaſily judged by the vaſt quantity of ivory which is brought out of it, and ſold to the Portugueſe. They have a kind of

[e] Joan. de Barros, Sanut. lib. xii. Linſchot Guin. cap. 7. Ramuſ. Davity, & al. [f] Pigafeta Congo, lib. ii. cap. 8. Ramuſ. & al.

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ſtag they call alſinge, of an extraordinary ſize and ſwiftneſs; and oſtriches as large as oxen, whoſe greaſe or oil, either outwardly applied, or taken inwardly, is reckoned a ſovereign remedy againſt pains and aches, ſprains, and ſtiffneſs of the limbs [g].

Inhabitants deſcribed. The natives are all black, with woolly hair, notwithſtanding their diſtance from the equinoctial line, and the ſnows which fall in ſuch vaſt quantities, upon their mountains, in the country of the Belonghi, and the province of Matuca, that if any abide on them, they are ſure to be frozen to death. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing, even thoſe who inhabit the countries beyond the ſouth tropic, as far as the Cape of Good Hope, are all of the ſame dark hue; whereas the people in the moſt torrid regions of Libya and America, which have the ſun vertical, are ſtrangers both to that black tincture of ſkin and criſpneſs of hair. In other reſpects they are well ſhaped, robuſt, and healthy, and more ſprightly and docile than thoſe of Quiloa, Mombaſo, and Melinda. They delight in war, which they prefer to the dull and low way of living by traffic. As for the lower claſs, they are commonly brought up to diving; and are ſo dexterous at it, that their chief buſineſs is to fetch ſand or mud from the bottom of rivers, ponds, and lakes, and to levigate the gold that is mixed with it, which they afterwards exchange with the Portugueſe for cotton cloths, and variety of other merchandizes and trinkets, which they bring thither from India and Europe, as they are cloſely ſhut up from all commerce with any other coaſters [h].

Their food and drink all highly perfumed. They feed on the fleſh of oxen and elephants, ſalted and dried fiſh, and a great variety of fruits. Amongſt theſe laſt there is one called caſaema, not unlike an apple, very ſweet to the taſte, and of a lively violet colour; but ſo pernicious in its effects, when eaten in too great a quantity, that it never fails of cauſing violent dyſenteries and bloody fluxes. Their bread is made of rice or millet, baked in thin cakes, and their drink ſour milk, and oil of ſeſamen, or Turkey wheat. The richer ſort have ſome ſtrong kinds of liquor made of honey, millet, and rice. They have, among others, the palm-wine, which is eſteemed a royal liquor, and drank much at court. This wine, which is drawn from the palm-tree by inciſion, is like the hydromel, and preſerved here, as in

[g] Pigafeta Cong. lib. ii. cap. 8. ibid. Jarric. Theſ. Ind.

[h] Sanut, Davity, & al.

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other parts of Ethiopia, in veſſels made of horn, curiouſly wrought; but the former is commonly mixed with manna, ambergriſe, muſk, and other ſuch high-ſcented perfumes, of which the courtiers and better ſort of people are very fond, not only in their meat and drink, but in their apartments, and walks, inſomuch that we are told the emperor conſumes daily as much of theſe perfumes, as is equivalent to two pounds weight of gold. All his flambeaux are perfumed in the ſame manner: when he goes abroad he is generally carried in a ſtately ſedan or chair, borne by four perſons of quality, under a magnificent canopy, richly embroidered, and beſpangled with pearls and precious ſtones: if the weather happens to be cloudy or miſty, four of thoſe lighted torches are carried before him, to clear and perfume the air. The princeſſes and ladies of the higheſt rank always dreſs his victuals, bring and ſerve them at his table; and they take that office by turns, as do alſo his muſicians; but theſe laſt, before they come into his preſence, are obliged to be hood-winked, or have a veil before their faces, to prevent their ſeeing him either eat or drink. All the women, in general, are fond of performing the ſame duty to their huſbands and families.

Dreſs of the people.

The Monomotapans go naked almoſt as low as the girdle, but from thence downwards are covered with a piece of cloth of various colours, and dreſs more or leſs richly according to their rank or circumſtances. That of the common people is of dyed cotton; but perſons of quality wear India ſilks, or cotton, embroidered with gold, over which they commonly have a lion's or ſome other wild beaſt's ſkin, with the tail hanging behind, trailing on the ground. When they go into the country, they commonly cover their private parts with the rind of a calebaſſio, to prevent their being annoyed with the ſtings of venomous inſects: in other reſpects young men and maids go naked, except a bit of cloth with which they cover their middle: but after theſe are married, and have children, they cover their breaſts and all the reſt of their bodies [b].

Polygamy allowed.

The men are allowed to marry as many wives as they can maintain; but the firſt is always looked upon as the chief and miſtreſs, and her children as the father's heirs, whilſt the reſt are only deemed as ſervants. The king or emperor is ſaid to have above a thouſand wives, all of them the daughters of ſome of his vaſſal princes; but

[b] Sanut, Od. Barbos, Davity, Dapper, & al.

the

His dress described.

the first alone hath the title and honours of a queen. He never alters his dress, but goes attired like his ancestors; he neither allows himself, or any of his wives or family, to wear any cloaths, that are manufactured out of his dominions, for fear they should have some poison or charm concealed in them. His usual dress is a kind of long vest or cassock, that hangs down to his knees; then crossing between his legs, is again tucked up under his girdle. He wears also a brocaded mantle, waving over his shoulders, and buskins on his legs, richly wrought and embroidered with gold and pearls. His neck is adorned with a magnificent karkanet or collar, enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones, going several times round, one under the other, so as to fall down below his breast. Of the same rich materials is the band which goes round his turban [1].

Retinue when he goes abroad.

Whenever he goes abroad, in a sedan or palanquin, or mounted on an elephant, or alsingo (B), he is always attended with a vast retinue besides his own guards, and a band of musicians. On these occasions, besides his other regalia, he affects to wear hanging at his side a small spade, with an ivory handle, and an arrow in each hand. These he calls the ensigns or badges of his royalty: the spade is the emblem of industry, intimating that his subjects ought to apply themselves to the cultivation of their lands, lest the neglect of it once reducing them to indigence, they should be tempted to pilfer and steal: on which account one of the arrows in his hand points out to them his power and duty to punish such crimes, by the other he is represented as the protector and defender of his people from all foreign invasions. On occasion of his going abroad in this public manner, whether to war or diversion, or to visit his dominions, his subjects never fail of appearing in crouds to wish him all imaginable success and prosperity; and sacrifice, at proper distances on the road through which he passes, a deer, or some other victim; and whilst the beast he rides on, tramples upon it, their augurs, who always assist on such occasions, ob-

[1] Marmol, Sanut, Ramus. & al. supra citat.

(B) The alsingo is a kind of stag, of an extraordinary size, strength, and speed, yet so wild that there are but few monarchs, who dare venture themselves on their backs (1).

(1) Linschot, lib. ii. Davity, & al. supra citat.

serve

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ſerve carefully the motions of the liver and heart, and from thence proclaim his enterprize or journey ſucceſsful or otherwiſe: if the former, they fill the air with ſhouts and acclamations, and if the latter, with doleful ſounds; and few if any of thoſe monarchs will proceed on their journey or deſign, whenever theſe pretended conjurers perſiſt in giving it a ſiniſter aſpect.

Greatness of tributaries.

They are however leſs liable either to revolts from within amongſt the great number of their tributary princes, or of invaſions from without, as they keep conſtantly a numerous ſtanding army, even when at peace with all the neighbouring nations; and oblige all the ſons of their vaſſals and tributaries to be educated under their eye, with their own family, where they are taught their duty and loyalty to them, and are kept as hoſtages of their parents fidelity. To this double policy they add a third, no leſs ſucceſsful maxim, which is, to ſend once a year their ambaſſadors to all the grandees who are vaſſals to their crown, to give them what is ſtyled amongſt them the new fire. No ſooner do theſe ambaſſadors arrive at the court of a vaſſal, than they order him, in the emperor's name, to put out the fire, on pain of being declared a rebel and traitor; which injunction being complied with, he comes and lights it afreſh at that which the ambaſſador brings with him for that purpoſe. Should any tributary refuſe to conform to this order, war is immediately declared againſt him, and military execution prevails with the utmoſt ſeverity [1].

Beloved by his ſubjects.

As they are thus careful to keep all their vaſſals within their due obedience, they are no leſs ſollicitous to preſerve the affections of their ſubjects by acts of kindneſs and benignity. They exact no taxes or tribute from them, but ſome ſmall, inconſiderable free-gift or preſent, and that chiefly when they apply to them for juſtice, or ſome other favour; becauſe that is eſteemed a mark of reſpect from an inferior to a ſuperior. The merchants, at their fairs, or other places of ſale, commonly preſent him with ſome of their wares, not by compulſion, but of their own accord; and if any neglect that ſmall homage, their only puniſhment is, that they muſt not appear in his preſence. This ſingular indulgence makes them look upon themſelves as a free people; and ſuch is their affectionate regard for him, that whenever he drinks, ſneezes, or coughs, one of the nobles in the preſence, cries aloud, "Pray for the

[1] Marmol.-Oſor. & al. ubi ſupra.

health.

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health and prosperity of the emperor:" upon which not only the place where he is, but as far on all sides as their shouts can be propagated and heard, is filled with acclamations[k]. If he at any time summons them to labour either at the gold mines, or any other work, he never fails of sending them cows and other provision, which induce them to come with the greater alacrity.

His ministers and officers, both civil and military, as well as his soldiery, who subsist by his pay, are indeed obliged, instead of taxes, to pay him a kind of service of seven days in every month, either in cultivating his grounds, or any other work he thinks fit to employ them in; and the lords and nobles of the kingdom are likewise bound to the same service when required, unless exempted from it by some particular privilege granted to their family or office.

Law-suits how determined. All law-suits and contests may be brought before him by appeal, and the former judgments are either confirmed or annulled by his authority. He hath no gaols nor prisons in his dominions, because every trial is summarily determined, either according to the report of the parties, or the evidence of the witnesses, and every crime punished immediately after conviction. If the complaint or crime be of such a nature, that it cannot be so quickly adjudged, and there be any danger of the accused person's making his escape, he is ordered to be tied to a tree, and a guard is set over him till he is either absolved or condemned; if the latter, the sentence is immediately executed in the open field, whether it be corporal or capital punishment; the former is commonly a more or less severe drubbing with a knotted cord, according to the nature of the crime, or the favour of the prince, as it is not reckoned ignominious among them, though inflicted on a nobleman.

Witnesses how purged. If any inconsistency appears betwixt two witnesses, one of them is obliged to take a piece of the bark of a certain tree in his mouth, and chew it into a powder, which is then thrown into some water, and given to the other to drink. If it stays with him he is absolved, if not he is condemned. In the former case however, he that gave the water hath still one way left to clear himself, by drinking some of it, and if it stays with him also, the law-suit is left undetermined. He exacts no servile prostrations from his subjects, but obliges them to continue in a sitting posture, except the Arabians and Portuguese, together with some

[k] Marmol, Offor. Ramus. & al. ubi supra.

few

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few favourites, who are allowed the privilege of ſtanding before him, which is eſteemed one of the greateſt marks of his favour; the next to which is that of having the liberty of ſitting upon a carpet, at their own homes; and a third they add, of having doors to their houſes or apartments: all which, but chiefly the laſt, belong to the grandees of the empire only. If any other pre-eminence they have, it is more on account of the largeneſs than the richneſs of the materials, or elegance of their ſtructures, they being all built of wood, and thatched with leaves or reeds, and are round on the top, like a bell or cupola[1].

Capital deſcribed.

The metropolis of this empire is called Benematapa or Banamatapa, and by Le Blanc and others Medrogan. It is a ſpacious city, ſituate about ſix days journey from an ancient palace named Simbaces, and about twenty miles weſt of Sofala. The houſes are neat, and more or leſs high and lofty, according to the rank of the owners. They are moſtly white-waſhed within and without, and adorned with beautiful cloths of cotton, finely wrought or dyed, which make the moſt conſiderable part of their furniture. But the greateſt ornament of the city is the imperial palace, a large ſpacious fabric, though of wood, well flanked with towers, and with four avenues or ſtately gates, conſtantly kept by a numerous guard. The inſide conſiſts of a great variety of ſumptuous apartments, ſpacious and lofty halls, adorned with a magnificent kind of cotton tapeſtry, the manufacture of the country, wherein the beauty and livelineſs of the colours greatly raiſe the value of them above that of the gold with which they are embelliſhed. The floors, ceilings, beams, and rafters, are all either gilt or plated with gold, curiouſly wrought, as are alſo the chairs of ſtate, tables, and benches; and all beautifully enamelled, or curiouſly painted, if we may credit ſome travellers and geographers. They uſe candleſticks and branches of ivory inlaid with gold, hanging from the ceiling by chains of the ſame metal, or of ſilver gilt, and every thing elſe anſwerable to them. The flambeaux, which are lighted in them, are perfumed with every coſtly odour. The emperor is ſerved at table upon the knee, and the diſhes are taſted, not before he eats of them, but after they are taken away. He is commonly attended at ſuch times by a great number of officers, who keep a moſt profound ſilence. The plates, diſhes, and

The king how ſerved

[1] Marmol, lib. ix. cap. 32.

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bowls, belonging to his table are of a sort of porcelane, curiously wrought around with sprigs of gold, resembling coral; but whether manufactured in his dominions, or brought from India, we are not told.

Brilliant court.

The ladies of the court are said to make a most gallant figure, richly clad, in the manufacture of the country. The sons of all the tributary princes are here brought up under the king's eye, and must be supposed to make a sumptuous appearance. They have colleges and academies appropriated to their education, at his charge. These, joined to the retinue and equipages, and the great number of officers civil and military, who are obliged to attend on the court, may likewise be reasonably supposed to make no inconsiderable addition to the brilliancy of it, as well as the opulence and splendor of that great metropolis [m].

The empress presides over his harvest, in his absence.

The empress, with such others of his wives as the emperor invites, are always glad when the time comes to accompany him into the country, to assist at the gathering of his harvest. If he be hindered by war or otherwise, his consort takes the whole care of it upon herself, and assigns to the other wives their several tasks under her; viz. to overlook a certain number of those soldiers or other subjects that are employed in that work. These are obliged to pay him the service of seven days in thirty, and to bring their own provisions with them, but are nevertheless commonly supplied, over and above, with cows, sheep, and other eatables, by his special bounty, when he himself is present [n]. As he is always accompanied with a numerous band of musicians, jesters, and buffoons, the evening, and even the whole night, passes in entertainments of music, jests, and buffoonery. With respect to the female sex, of what rank soever they may be, they are, every-where through this empire, treated with the utmost respect and decency; insomuch, that if even a prince of the blood meets a woman of ever so mean a rank in his way, he dares take no other notice of her than to give her the upperhand, and pass by her with a civil bow.

Other cities.

Zimbas.

Other cities of note, though not considerable enough to deserve a description, are Zimbas or Zimbaos, in the neighbourhood of Sofala, supposed to have some relation with the Agasimba of Ptolemy, as that word signifies

[m] Sanut, Od Barbos, Le Blanc, Davity, & al. [n] Od. Barbos, Marmol, Davity, Purch. Relat. of the World. lib. vii. cap. 8. Purchas. ubi supra, & al. supra citat. Faria y Sousa Voyag. & al. supra citat.

properly

properly a *palace* or *caſtle*, of which there are ſeveral of ancient date, probably built to guard the gold mines; ſo that Agaſimba might then properly ſignify the region or country of caſtles or palaces. The relation publiſhed of this country by the Jeſuits, an. 1624, mentions another city in this country named Tele, where that ſociety had the college of the Holy Ghoſt for their reſidence. Sena, inhabited chiefly by Portugueſe, and one of their principal fairs, as the Cuama is navigable up to it, and to Tele laſt mentioned, which is another of their colonies. We might add that of Tumbaro, and ſome others of leſs note, but of which they give no particular account.

A province inhabited by Amazons, who are part of the king's army and guard.

Beſides theſe and other provinces and kingdoms, tributary to the Monomotapan empire, we are told of a province or diſtrict, appropriated by the king for a ſet of female warriors, in all reſpects like the ancient Amazons, and obſerving the ſame way of living. Theſe are ſaid to be ſeated in a ſeparate kingdom, on the confines of Damot and Gorago, belonging to the Abyſſinian empire. Some add, that the kings of Monomotapa prefer them in their wars to their own ſtanding troops. Many more wonderful things they tell us concerning their way of living, fighting, wounding and killing in their pretended flight, that we ſhould be loth to vouch for, neither ſhall we abſolutely deny the real exiſtence of ſuch martial viragoes, againſt the evidence of ſo many, otherwiſe credible, authors [o]. The reader is at liberty to judge as he pleaſes.

We have already hinted, on another occaſion, that the emperor maintains a numerous army conſtantly on foot, for he hath no cavalry, there being but few horſes, if any, in his dominions, at leaſt fit for that purpoſe. Whenever he goes to war, either againſt an invading enemy, or revolted vaſſal, thoſe heroines always make one part of it, as well as of his guard. They are armed and clothed like the men; their weapons are the bow and arrows, the javelin, ſcymeter, cutlaſs, and dagger, and ſome of them uſe alſo the hatchet, very keen and light, all which they handle with great dexterity, being trained up to it from their tender years. Wherever the emperor encamps, they rear for him a large wooden houſe, in which a fire muſt be conſtantly kept burning, leſt ſome conjuring ſpell againſt him ſhould be concealed under the aſhes. He takes ſuch of his wives with him as he likes beſt; and,

Their weapons.

[o] Le Blanc, Dapper, Pigafet. Linſchot, lib. ii. & Beteri, Benemot, part i. & al.

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beſides his Amazonian life-guard, is always eſcorted by two hundred large maſtiffs, as the more truſty animal of the two, and in leſs danger of being bribed. In what order and manner this army marches, encamps, attacks, and fights, we are not told; only that neither he nor any of his ſoldiery are permitted to waſh hands or face, till they have gained a complete victory: after which the ſpoil is divided between him, his officers, and common ſoldiers.

Principal officers of ſtate.

The principal officers of his court, are the ningameſha, or *governor* of the kingdom (a kind of grand vizir, or prime miniſter), the mokomaſha, or *captain-general*, the ambuya, or *lord high-ſteward*, to whom, among other privileges, belongs that of naming a new empreſs when the old one dies, but ſhe muſt be either one of the ſiſters or near relations of the emperor; the inhantore, or *captain of the band of muſicians*, who is himſelf a great lord; the nurikao, or *captain of the vanguard*; the bukurumo, which ſignifies the *king's right hand*; the mogando, or chief *augur* or *conjuror*; the nelambe, or *keeper of the king's pharmacy*, ointments, and other utenſils and ingredients uſed by the augur; the nehono, or *chief porter of the palace*. All theſe are ſtyled lords, as well as the two chief cooks belonging to his majeſty, who are commonly his relations; the under cooks are alſo men of quality. None of theſe muſt be above twenty years of age, for till then they are ſuppoſed to have been free from carnal commerce with women. After that age they are preferred to greater employments.

Chief wives; their revenue and employ.

Among the many wives belonging to the king, there are nine who immediately rank next to the empreſs, and enjoy ſome conſiderable employment at court. The firſt of them is ſtyled mazarira, or mother of the Portugueſe, who ſolicits their affairs with his majeſty, and is gratified with large preſents for her good offices. The next is the inahanda, who performs the ſame office in favour of the Moors. The third is the nabaiza, who lives in the ſame apartment with him. The other ſix have likewiſe their reſpective titles, employments, and apartments, and all of them their ſeveral revenues ariſing from the reſpective kingdoms allotted them, ſufficient to enable them to live in great ſtate, and to keep ſeparate courts; and as ſoon as one of them dies, another, out of the next rank, is named to ſucceed to her title, place, and income. All theſe have likewiſe a great number of women to attend them, as the king often goes to or ſends for them; if he ſees any of theſe that

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that pleaſe him, he makes no ſcruple of taking them to his bed [p].

Chief wives, their revenue and employ.

The prince, as well as the ſubjects of this vaſt empire, are generally heathen; though neither polytheiſts, idolaters, nor given to ſuch bloody and deteſtable ſuperſtitions as the greateſt part of the Caffers are. They acknowlege a Supreme Being, Creator, and Governor of the univerſe, and accordingly they ſtyle him Mazira and Attuno, terms equivalent to thoſe two attributes. They pay, moreover, a ſingular veneration to a certain virgin whom they call Al Firoo: temples and nunceries are erected in honour of her; and they confine their daughters in them, much in the ſame manner as their neighbours the Abyſſinians, Greeks, and Romans do, to perpetual celibacy; but whether this notion of the worſhip of that virgin be derived from any of them, or hath ſome other origin, we will not venture to affirm; only thus much we may obſerve from ſome of their other ſuperſtitious rites, ſuch as praying to and for the dead, preſerving and paying a kind of religious regard to the bones and relics of their deceaſed parents, children, and other near or dear friends and relations, and keeping ſtated anniverſaries to their memory. They all ſavour ſo much of the Abyſſinian ſuperſtition, that it is not unlikely they may have been formerly made proſelytes to that church, whilſt the country was ſubject or tributary to its emperors, but have ſince fallen away from the one, after their ſhaking off the yoke of the other. However that be, Pigafetta taxes them with being given not only to a great variety of ſuperſtitions, but to ſuch magical arts and practices, as quite eclipſe the luſtre of their belief in one Supreme Being [q]; though that belief is no ſmall preparative diſpoſition to their being made converts to Chriſtianity.

Chriſtianity introduced.

Accordingly we are told, that, in the year 1560, F. Gonzales Silveyra, a Portugueſe Jeſuit, had the good fortune to baptize the then emperor and his mother; the former of them by the name of Sebaſtian, in honour of the king of Portugal, and the latter by the name of Mary, in honour of the Bleſſed Virgin. Their example was followed by above three hundred noblemen belonging to his court, and quickly after by many of the greateſt lords of the empire. But a year was ſcarcely expired, before that young and inconſtant prince was ſo far exaſperated both againſt his new religion and its preacher, by ſome of his

[p] Pigafet. Congo. p 192, & ſeq. [q] Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 8.

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favourites, who were Mohammedans, and represented the Portugueſe father not only as a dangerous ſpy, but as a great magician, capable by his enchantments to overturn his whole empire, as to cauſe him to be murdered by eight of his domeſtics, whilſt the good father was taking his reſt, and to order his body to be thrown into the next river. He likewiſe cauſed fifty of his neophites, whom he had baptized but the day before, to undergo the ſame fate; but repenting afterwards of his raſhneſs and credulity, he cauſed thoſe Mohammedans to be publicly executed for their calumnies; of which the Jeſuits of Kochin were no ſooner appriſed, than they ſent two of their ſociety to him, who, by repreſenting to him the infinite benefit which they did to the world by their preaching and converſions, ſo far ingratiated themſelves into his favour, that he gave them at once the liberty of propagating their religion, and to his ſubjects the permiſſion of embracing it.

King of Portugal's ill timed expedition.

They had now a fair proſpect of converting the whole empire, but this was not long after obſcured again by the indiſcretion of Sebaſtian, king of Portugal, who, inſtead of ſending thither a freſh ſupply of preachers to accelerate the good work, equipped a new fleet, the command of which he gave to Don Franceſco Baretto, with orders to enter Monomotapa in a hoſtile manner, and to revenge the death of the late father Silveyra on the young emperor. This ſtep, we are told, was taken rather at the earneſt ſolicitations of that Jeſuit's illuſtrious family, as well as of a great number of grandees, than out of any inclination that prince had to fall out with the Monomotapan emperor. This proved, however, a very unſucceſsful expedition both to the admiral, who is ſaid to have been taken off in that war, not by the arms, but by the treachery of the Arabs, who cauſed his water and proviſions to be poiſoned, and to the greater part of his men, who died either in the ſame manner, or by the ill temperature of the climate. This is all the account we have given us of that fatal expedition; which did not hinder the Portugueſe ſettled there from continuing their commerce with the ſubjects of that empire with the ſame freedom and advantage that they had employed before[r]. The Jeſuits were ſoon after ſucceeded in that miſſion by ſome Dominicans, who undertook the converſion of thoſe heathens,

[r] Jarr. ubi ſupra. La Croix, Davity. Dapper, lib. ii. cap. 10. & al.

without

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without telling us with what ſucceſs, which probably was but ſmall, ſince theſe have ſaid ſo little of it; and a celebrated traveller, who was there about the year 1570, tells us, that the then emperor, who had by that time reigned forty-ſeven years, and was in all reſpects a prince of great penetration, valour, conduct, and juſtice, almoſt adored by his ſubjects for his excellent qualities, ſtill profeſſed the old Monomotapan religion[a]. However that be, the Portugueſe proved more ſucceſsful in their ſecular affairs, in enlarging their conqueſts, and in the increaſe of their wealth and ſtrength, by which means the Jeſuits got freſh footing and credit in that empire.

Portugueſe put in poſſeſſion of ſome gold mines.

In the year 1604, the Monomotapan emperor having invited the Portugueſe to come and take poſſeſſion of the mines which he had yielded to them, the fathers Franceſco Gonzalez, and Paulo Aleixo, both Jeſuits, were appointed to accompany the army which was deſtined for that empire; from which vaſt advantages were expected to be reaped by both ſides, the emperor confiding ſolely in the Portugueſe for the reduction of his revolted vaſſals, and permitting them to build fortreſſes wherever they thought fit, even cloſe to his court, in order to their being nearer at hand to aſſiſt him in all emergencies.

Bloody conteſt about the ſucceſſion.

The emperor Al Fumigarbachi, who reigned about ſixty years before Le Blanc's arrival in that country, being ſurpriſed with ſudden death, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, without having time to appoint a ſucceſſor from among the ſixty-four ſons he had by his ſeveral wives, a long and bloody conteſt aroſe among the moſt conſiderable of them, to which their reſpective mothers contributed all their efforts, in order to bribe the moſt potent lords in behalf of their reſpective ſons. The ſtruggle was ſo great, and the partizans ſo zealous, that each of the competitors ſtrove to deſtroy the reſt of his rivals, not only by all hoſtile means, but by publicly ſetting the greateſt prices upon their heads. After many fierce engagements, and much bloodſhed, the princes Abgara, Adala, Cercut, and Gulman, agreed to unite their intereſt and ſtrength, and ſlew as many of the princes as fell into their hands, whilſt the reſt either fled into different provinces and ſtrongholds for ſafety, or continued the war againſt the four with incredible fury and obſtinacy, inſomuch that the two former of the four princes loſt their lives. The two ſurvivors proving more ſucceſsful againſt the reſt, and im-

[a] Vincent Le Blanc, par. ii. cap. 6 & 7.

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patient to reſtore peace to the empire, agreed to reign jointly, and by turns, and that each ſhould hold the reins of government ſix months in the year. They had reigned peaceably ſome ſhort time, when Cercut, unfortunately marrying an ambitious princeſs, named Gildada, was eaſily perſuaded by her, on ſome pretence, to ſend for his brother to court, and to put him privately to death. He reigned ſingly after this fratricide about thirteen years, when an uncle of his, named Nahi, put both him and his wife and children to death, to the general joy of all the people to whom his reign was become odious, and Nahi reigned in his ſtead.

History of the emperor Al-fondi.

This revolution ſoon brought on a dreadful war between him and Gildada's father, then a powerful prince, in which vaſt numbers were ſlain on both ſides. In the mean time, one of the princes of the blood, who had eſcaped the ſlaughter which overtook his other brothers, retired into a diſtant kingdom, where he bought a ſmall territory, on which he lived as a private man. Here he married a wife, by whom he had a ſon, whom he named Al-fundi, who, at the age of ſeven or eight years, began to exhibit marks of an elevated genius, and grew more and more beloved and admired as his years increaſed. He began by times to diſplay an undaunted courage in hunting lions, tygers, and other wild creatures. Hearing, at length, of the cruel war that raged in Monomotapa, between his then unknown great uncle and the king of Daſila, he reſolved to ſet out for that kingdom. Having provided himſelf with arms and a horſe, he began his journey thither, attended only with a ſmall number of brave youths like himſelf, whom he had engaged to follow his fortune.

Exploits, and riſe at court.

He had not been long there, before he ſignalized himſelf by ſuch exploits, as drew the eyes of all upon him; but more particularly, and by a kind of natural ſympathy, thoſe of his uncle, who, though then wholly ignorant of the proximity of blood between him and the brave ſtranger, conceived ſuch an affection for, and confidence in him, that he intruſted him with the command of a ſmall corps of his troops to attack the enemy in ſome important poſt. On this occaſion Al-fundi diſplayed ſo much conduct and bravery, and gained ſo ſignal a victory over the Daſilans, that their king left no means untried to bring him over to his intereſt, though all to no effect. In the ſpace of ſix months he gained ſo many battles, and performed ſuch ſurpriſing exploits, that he rid the empire of that

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that troubleſome enemy; and, in recompence for his ſignal ſervices and inviolable fidelity, his uncle gave him his daughter in marriage, without his having the leaſt ſurmiſe of his true extract.

His father arrives at court.

The firſt ſtep Al-fondi took after his advancement, was to ſend for his father, who upon his arrival at court, diſcloſed the whole myſtery, and declared himſelf the ſon of the late emperor Alfumigarbachi, to the joyful ſurprize of his uncle, and of the whole court and army. The uncle gladly reſigned the crown to him as his undoubted due, and he at the ſame time, with the univerſal conſent of all, transferred his right to his worthy ſon Al-fondi, and his wife, who were accordingly crowned, to the unſpeakable ſatisfaction of the people, who gladly acknowleged him as their lawful ſovereign, and honoured him as the reſtorer of the peace of the empire [t].

This remarkable revolution happened in the year 1523; and that noble prince was ſtill on the throne, A. D. 1570, when our author viſited his dominions. He tells us, that he was ſtill the love and admiration of all his ſubjects, and relates ſome ſignal inſtances of his juſtice, and other royal virtues, for which we ſhall refer the curious reader to his own book [u].

The gold mines of Manica.

Before we diſmiſs this ſection, it will not be improper to give ſome account of the rich gold mines with which this empire abounds. The moſt conſiderable are in the kingdom of Manica, under the 23d deg. of ſouth latitude, and 31ſt of eaſt longitude, near which is ſituated the capital of the ſame name, called by ſome Magnica. They extend through a large ſpacious champaign, wild, ſandy, and barren, about nine miles in circuit, and ſurrounded with high mountains. The province is called Matuca, and the inhabitants who dig the mines Botooge. They diſcover the places where the gold lies by the dryneſs and barrenneſs of the ground, as if nature had ſo far exhauſted herſelf in the production of that precious metal, that it could yield nothing elſe. The country, moreover, is ſo inhoſpitable in winter, though ſo near the ſouth tropic, that whatever creatures abide there during that ſeaſon, are frozen to death by the vaſt quantities of ſnow that fall, and the exceſſive cold: but in ſummer the air is ſo ſerene and clear, that ſome Europeans pretend to have ſeen the new moon on the day of its conjunction [x].

[t] Le Blanc, part ii. chap. 6. [u] Ibid. chap. 6 & 7. [x] Marmol, lib. ix. chap. 31.

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These rich mines lie about one hundred and fifty miles west of the mart, or place where the commerce for it is carried on. The misfortune is, that the Caffers who work at them, and are naturally lazy, find great difficulty in gathering the dust, for want of water to separate it from the earth, so that they are obliged to carry it mixed as they dig it to other distant places, where they keep large cisterns and reservoirs for that purpose. One conveniency they have, however, that they need not dig deeper for the ore than above six or seven spans; all the rest underneath being solid rock.

Mines of Massapa. Next to those of Manica, are the mines of Massapa, or Afur; from the affinity of which name Faria y Sousa concludes them to be probably the ancient Ophir. In these, he tells us, have been found two lumps of gold, the one worth one thousand two hundred ducats, and the other four hundred thousand. He adds, that it is not only found among the stones, but grows up within the barks of several trees quite up to the top, where the branches spread. But setting aside this wonderful mine, there are others in this empire not much inferior to those of Manica; particularly those of Batua, a kingdom bordering on the barren wilds lately mentioned, extending from the Mountains of the Moon to the river Magnico, whose prince is a vassal of the emperor.

Mines of Batua.

These are reckoned the most ancient mines in the whole empire, on account of some old castles in the neighbourhood, supposed to have been built as a safeguard to them, and carry the greatest marks of antiquity; especially Boro and Kiticuy, the one about one hundred, and the other two hundred leagues from Sofala, and more particularly still those of the province of Toroa, exhibiting those buildings or castles, which some learned men have attributed to king Solomon[y]. They are computed about one hundred and seventy leagues, or five hundred and ten miles westward from Sofala; but there are several other considerable places where they have their fairs and markets, between the mines and the sea-coast, particularly in those towns which lie on the Zebeze or Cuama, and other rivers, which are navigable up to that of Tele, one hundred and twenty leagues from Sofala, and where the Portuguese have built fortresses to keep the natives in awe, who come to those markets to exchange their gold for European, In-

Boro, &c.

[y] Faria y Sousa, vide & Collect. of Voyag. 4to. 1746, vol. iii. p. 396.

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dian, and other commodities. The firſt of theſe towns is called Luano, or Luancho, and is about four days journey from the ſea; the ſecond is Buento, ſtill farther in the inland; the third Maſſapa, ſtill farther up; the fourth Sena, and the laſt Tele.

The commodities which the Portugueſe give the natives for their's are chiefly cloths, of various kinds and value, glaſs beads of different ſizes and colours, and other ſtill more worthleſs trinkets, for which, beſides the gold above mentioned, they receive ivory, furs of ſundry wild and tame beaſts, and other ſuch valuable commodities, which makes that commerce very advantageous to them, eſpecially as they in ſome meaſure oblige the natives to ſubmit to their own terms. They have moreover in thoſe markets an officer of their own, who is appointed by the governor of Moſambico, and decides all conteſts and differences that ariſe about their traffick; that of Maſſapa in particular, who is nominated with the conſent of the emperor, ſeems to be the chief of them, and, we are told, is forbid to go into the country without his leave, under pain of death. They have likewiſe, in moſt of theſe towns, churches and monaſteries of the Dominican order [z]. By the means of theſe ſeveral forts within land, as well as that which they have on the mouth of the Cuama, they have made themſelves maſters of a tract of land on both ſides of that river of above one hundred and fifty leagues, and of ſome of the moſt conſiderable mines in the empire, and ingroſſed the whole commerce of it ever ſince the year 1640.

Portugueſe judges.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Monoemugi.

BEFORE we reſume our courſe round this African coaſt, it will not be improper to give our readers an account of the vaſt and potent kingdom, or empire, of Monoemugi or Munni Emugi, or, as it is otherwiſe called, Nimeamaye, which extends along the eaſtern coaſts of Sofala, Mongala, Moſambico, Quiloa, and Mombaſo, as far almoſt as Melinda on the eaſt, on the north as far as Abyſſinia, from which it is ſaid to be divided by the Nile, and the dominions of the grand Macocco; on the weſt it is ſaid to reach quite to the frontiers of Kongo and An-

Kingdom of Monoemugi.

Its extent, boundaries, &c. uncertain, and variouſly ſettled.

[z] Marmol, Purchas, Lopez, Faria, & al. ſup. citat.

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golo, and on the south to those of Monomotapa lately described[a]. We must own however that these limits are uncertain for the most part; and that we know little of the kingdom itself, but what is founded on the report of their neighbours, with whom its monarchs are frequently at war; or obtained from the Negroes who carry on a commerce with it; and hence proceeds that diversity of accounts we meet with among geographers concerning its extent, limits, and division. However, what all our writers agree in is, that this sovereign is a powerful and rich prince, and hath subdued most of the petty kingdoms round; though not so absolutely, but that some of them, especially on the north and south, frequently revolt, and put themselves under the protection of the Abyssinian or Benemotapan emperors. He is said to have many rich gold, silver, and copper mines in his dominions, by means of which he carries on a commerce with these two empires, as well as with some of the eastern coasters, with whom he is forced to exchange that precious metal for Indian and European commodities, for want of having some port of his own on either the eastern or western sea. This consideration obliges him to cultivate a constant peace with the maritime kingdoms of Quiloa, Mombaso, and Melinda, whose merchants furnish him with variety of silks, cotton cloths, and other such merchandizes, together with cutlery work, and other sorts of trinkets; and amongst the rest, those little round, balls or beads from Cambaja, made of a transparent red bitumen, with which his people affect to adorn their necks, arms, and legs, and which they likewise use instead of money. Elephants being here also very numerous, vast quantities of ivory are exported by them into those kingdoms; from all which that emperor reaps a considerable yearly profit, and his subjects no less a conveniency, those Indian stuffs being their only apparel, and those beads and trinkets their sole ornaments, for which they gladly exchange their gold dust, which is of no value to them on any other account. He lives likewise in friendship with the grand Macaco, another prince on the north of him, on account of the Negro merchants who trade with the Portuguese, at the great markets of Fangeno, Pombo, and Ocango. These are obliged to traverse his dominions in going and coming, and drive a considerable traffic likewise with him and his subjects.

Its riches and power.

Commerce.

[a] Sanson, Luitz, Purchas, Pigafet. Odoar, Lopez, Linschot, & al.

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What kind of people the natives of Monoemugi are in other reſpects, what their religion is, if they have any (for we do not find that Mohammediſm hath reached them), what are their laws and cuſtoms, we cannot explain. The Arabs, who inhabit the coaſts of Zanguebar, and are all Mohammedans, call them by the name of Caffres or Caffers, that is, infidels, or men of no religion. We learn moreover that the frontiers of this empire, are inhabited by the barbarous nations Giachas or Giagas, or Agags, lately deſcribed, whom we take to be of the ſame extract, if not the ſame nation, with thoſe whom the Abyſſinians call Gallas and Agaus, a wild, fierce, and warlike people, of a whiter complexion, taller, and more ſtout by far than the African natives, who live altogether upon plunder, and have ſpread themſelves over moſt parts and even ſome of the moſt potent kingdoms of Africa, where, though they are called by different names, they plainly appear to have been originally the ſame. They have no fixed habitations, but, like the wild Arabs, wander about in tents or portable houſes, and ſpread dread and deſtruction where-ever they come. They have a way of marking their faces and bodies with iron inſtruments, and turn their upper eye-lids upwards to appear more terrible; and indeed one can hardly imagine any appearance more frightful, eſpecially when joined to the idea of their other more barbarous cuſtoms, of butchering all that oppoſe them in their incurſions, feaſting on the fleſh of all that unhappily fall into their hands; and, like the horrid Imbii, committing every-where the moſt dreadful ravages [b].

Caffers whence ſo called.

Giagas ſettled among them.

Theſe ſavages, who ſcarcely knew the uſe of any weapons except their darts, the emperor of Monoemugi hath found means to engage in his intereſt; and makes uſe of in his wars againſt thoſe of Abyſſinia, Monomotapa, Kongo, and Angola, in all which kingdoms they have acted ſuch barbarities, that the poor inhabitants have no other way to avoid them, than by abandoning their country at the firſt news of their approach, and carrying off all they conveniently can with them in their flight. It was probably in ſome ſuch expedition as this, that they forced the king of Kongo to leave his dominions, and retire into a little iſland on the Zayr, where they kept him ſo cloſely blockaded that he died ſoon after of the dropſy, and the people that were with him periſhed of hunger [c]. We are

[b] Od. Lopez Voyag. lib. i. cap. 13. lib. ii. cap. 9. Purch. lib. vii. cap. 10. § 3. [c] Od. Lopez, lib. ii. cap 5.

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likewise told that this powerful emperor employs these bloody cannibals against a commonwealth of female warriors, otherwise called Amazons, situate on some of his southern frontiers, from whence they used to make frequent inroads into his dominions; but are since kept in awe by them, not so much out of fear of their superior valour and strength, as of their inhumanity, and the dread of being roasted alive, and eaten. Hence it is that whenever they are attacked by them, the fight is very bloody on both sides; for none of those martial females will trust to their heels when routed, though extremely swift of foot; but will fight to the last gasp, and chuse to die sword in hand, rather than yield themselves prisoners.

We do not hear of any considerable towns in this empire, but only of some small places situate along the river Cuama: these are a sort of villages, where fairs are kept at settled times of the year, and resorted to by the people on each side for the sake of traffic. The Portuguese, who trade with those Negroes we lately spoke of, have been assured by them that there is a large lake, out of which spring several great rivers, and which was filled with a vast multitude of islands, inhabited by Negroes. They farther told them, that on the eastern side of it, from the land, they frequently heard the sound of bells, and perceived some stately structures like the Christian churches; and that some people of a dark swarthy complexion came and trafficked with those islanders. Those negroes being asked how far they reckoned that lake from their own country? answered, that it took them up full sixty days travelling still directly eastward [d]. We are farther told, that the country which lies between that lake and the small territory of Ocango, or, as Mr. D'Anville writes it, O Cango, is pleasant and fertile, and watered with great plenty of springs. It abounds with variety of fowl and four-footed creatures, and with palm-trees, from which the inhabitants draw both wine and oil: honey is there in such plenty, that the Negroes cannot consume one third part of it, and suffer the rest to be lost: the misfortune is, the air and climate are so unhealthy, that no missionaries or other Europeans dare venture so far inland; as the Giachas, who inhabit these parts, and are reckoned the most fierce and cruel of all cannibals, infest the roads, and massacre all that come in their way.

Unwholsome air.

[d] Od. Lopez, ubi supra, Pigafet, lib. ii. cap. 9. Dapper, & al.

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The greateſt part of the kingdom is very mountainous; one is ſuppoſed to be the famous ridge called by the ancients, The Mountain of the Moon, where the Nile had its ſource [c]. Here we muſt conclude our account of this large and opulent empire, for want of farther intelligence. For though ſome authors have inſerted in their deſcriptions many other particulars concerning its cities, towns, rivers, and lakes, yet they differ ſo widely from each other, that no dependence can be had on any of them; and the beſt that can be ſaid of thoſe relations is, that they have been taken on the credit of thoſe Negroes who traffic thither, and who might have no other view than to amuſe the inquiſitive, and too juſtly ſuſpected, Europeans with fabulous reports, the more effectually to conceal every thing that might invite them to penetrate farther into thoſe parts. All, therefore, we ſhall add with relation to this unknown empire is, that Mr. De Liſle, in his Atlas, divides it into the five following kingdoms or provinces; viz. 1. The Maracates. 2. The Moſſagueres. 3. The kingdom of the Bengas. 4. Of Maſty. And 5. Of Maravi. The laſt of which Mr. D'Anville places on the ſouthermoſt verge of the lake of that time, which is all we can find concerning them.

The more ſouthern parts of it why ſo little known.

The farther we move ſouthwards towards the Cape of Good Hope, the farther we may be ſaid to travel in the dark; though all our maps unite to embelliſh both the coaſt and inland with ſuch proſpects, and pompous names of empires, kingdoms, and countries, crouded cloſe to each other, as might induce an unwary reader to imagine thoſe countries were as fully known, as the different diſtricts of Europe; and were he to compare the vaſt ſhew they make in thoſe maps with the little he finds in the relations and accounts of the African writers, he would be apt to conclude from the former, that the far greater and moſt conſiderable part of the latter, like thoſe of the ancients, have been unhappily loſt or deſtroyed. The Arabs, as well as the natives who inhabit this whole eaſtern coaſt, are too jealous of, not to ſay incenſed againſt, all Europeans, to give them any intelligence of the inland parts; much leſs to let any of their miſſionaries penetrate into them, as they have made their way on the weſtern coaſt. So that all the knowlege we have been able to gain of them, is chiefly founded on the precarious report of thoſe trading coaſters, and extends little farther than the names and ſituation of thoſe kingdoms.

[c] Ptolem Geograph. lib. iv. in fin.

Whatever

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Whatever they are, must be left to time to discover, as well as what extends farther towards the south, which is no less unknown to us, and commonly goes by the name of Caffraria, or land of the Caffers, quite to that of the Hottentots, of which we shall speak in the next section. One thing we know however of that great tract of ground, that it is mostly barren and uncultivated, inhabited by wild barbarous nations, or rather tribes, distinguished among themselves by various names; though by all appearance of the same wild and savage extract; and, on that account, comprehended by the Arabs under the common one of Caffers, or men of no religion or knowlege of a Deity; though whether really such we will not affirm, seeing they give the same opprobrious name to all that disbelieve the Mahommedan creed. However that be, the poverty and barrenness of their country rightly accounts for the small acquaintance the Europeans have with either.

SECT. VII.

The History of Cafraria, or the Land of the Caffers, or Kaffers, and various Nations so called.

Caffers and Cafraria, whence so called.

WE have already observed, that the name of Caffers or Kaffers, is a kind of nickname, given in contempt by the Arabian Mohammedans to all the Africans in general, who are either idolaters, or even of a contrary religion; that word signifying *without law*, or *lawless*, and is often applied to Christians as well as to Infidels. But geographers confine it to those wild nations only who live in the most southern part of Africa, and comprehend their whole country under the general name of Cafraria, though they are not agreed about assigning its boundaries on the north side; and no wonder, considering the little commerce the Europeans have with them. So that the generality of them make them begin at Capo Negro, on the western, and the mouth of the river Cuama on the eastern coast, and to extend quite to that of Good Hope on the south, including therein the whole nation of the Hottentots, who inhabit the most southern part, though these last plainly appear, in all respects, to be a different race from all the other Africans, as we shall shew in the next chapter. But if by Caffers and Cafraria we are to understand all the heathen and idolatrous nations who inhabit

Northern boundaries uncertain.

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habit this south side of Africa, it is certain those northern limits will extend much farther on that side, at least within land, and will include not only the kingdoms of Monomotapa and Monoemugi, already described, together with those of Anzico, Fungono, Metamba, and others we shall speak of in the sequel, but the countries of the Gallas, Jagoes, on the south side of Abyssinia, the Monsoles, and other nations of the same kind, which extend between that empire and the kingdom of Kongo, Loango, and Angola, as far northward as the Mountains of the Moon, and how much farther, is beyond our power to decide, with any tolerable probability, from the dissonancy of our geographers and their maps. We may even add, that they sometimes contradict themselves, as one may see by the difference there is between the map which Mr. De Lisle gave us of this country, in conjunction with that of the kingdom of Kongo, and that which he published of the whole continent of Africa, the one in 1708, and the other in 1722[f]. The truth is, there is really no country properly so called, and the Portuguese having mistaken the Arabic word Caffer for the name of a country, instead of a reproachful epithet, have led others into the same error; for which reason we shall forbear saying any thing more of it under the former notion, but only add, with respect to the latter, that all the vast tract of inland country from the Hottentots to the equinoctial line, and beyond, may justly be called by that odious name of Cafraria, or Infidel land, seeing the whole race of its inhabitants are not only idolaters, but addicted to the vilest and most inhuman superstitions, perhaps of any nation in the world. The ferocity and cruelty of those savages, joined to the excessive heat and unhealthiness of these climes, have proved constant discouragements to those good fathers the missionaries from risking the loss of their lives and labours amongst them. So that very few have penetrated far into the country; and of these one part died so soon, either through the heat of the climate, badness of the food, and the terrible fatigues they were exposed to, or were deterred by their ill success from staying any time among them; and at their return gave such a dreadful account of this mission, that few, if any, have been sent thither since, except to maritime places where the Portuguese or other Europeans are set-

[f] Confer. De Lisle's Map, 1708, & Not. D'Anville.

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tled[g]: and hence it is that we know so little of that vast inland tract, notwithstanding what Dapper, La Croix, and others, have written concerning it; to which, we think, no credit can safely be given, except only what more immediately relates to the Hottentots, with whom they have plainly, though absurdly enough, confounded them. Instead therefore of troubling our readers with a long detail of nations, of whom we know little else but their names, even if these may be relied on, we shall now readily close this chapter, in order to open our way in the next to those more remote natives of Africa, as well as the kingdoms and nations who inhabit its western coast, with whom we are much better acquainted.

CHAP. XLVI.

The History of the various Nations of the Hottentots, with their Coasts; together with the Dutch Settlements on or about them.

SECT. I.

Situation of the Country; Account of the several Tribes of the Hottentots, their Manners, Customs, &c.

Situation and extent.

THE Hottentot coast, which surrounds the empire of Monomotapa, in the form a horse-shoe, on the east, south, and west, extends, according to Magin, from the west of Cabo Negro as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence northward to the river Magnica, or Rio de S. Spirito, including Mattatan, a distinct kingdom. According to Sanut, this coast, beginning at the Mountains of the Moon, under the tropic of Capricorn, in 28 deg. and a half of south latitude, extends north beyond the Cape to the coast of Zanguebar, having the Indian sea on the east, the Ethiopic on the west, and the southern on the south, and on the north the kingdoms of Mattatan,

[g] Vide P. Cavazz. Hist. of Kongo, &c.

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Monomotapa, and the coaſt of Zanguebar, or rather the Mountains of the Moon, which divide it from the reſt of the continent [a].

The natives diſtinguiſh themſelves by the name of Hottentot, who, though generally confounded by Europeans with, and denominated Caffers, are a diſtinct people, of different colour and manner of life, who know not, nor have any traditional account of any national appellation antecedent to the arrival of the Europeans; who have remained where they are ever ſince the deluge, or are originally deſcended from the ancient Troglodytes, the poſterity of Abraham by his wife Kethurah. Their language is a compoſition of the ſtrangeſt and moſt diſagreeable ſounds, deemed by many the diſgrace of ſpeech, without articulation, reſembling rather the noiſe of irritated turkies; the chattering of magpies, and hooting of owls, juſtly conſidered the monſter of languages, attainable only by youth, and children born in the country, and never to be acquired by ſtrangers, the ſound depending on extraordinary vibrations, inflexions, and claſhing of the tongue againſt the palate. On this account the Hottentots, who are hardly intelligible when they ſpeak other languages, are eſteemed a nation of ſtammerers [b]. *Original name.*

The coaſt is extremely mountainous, abounding in capes, bays, and roads. Thirty leagues to the eaſt of the Cape of Good Hope, ſituated in 24 deg. 21 min. of ſouth latitude, is another cape more ſouth, beyond deg. 25, called by the Portugueſe, who firſt doubled it, Cabo das Agulhas, or *Cape of Needles*, the needle of the compaſs appearing to them, when oppoſite to this eminence, to turn from north direct ſouth; though later mariners have remarked that it ſtill inclines five or ſix degrees to the north-weſt. Near this cape is a flat ſhore, which begins in the weſt near a freſh water river, and extending fifteen leagues, ends in the eaſt near Fiſh Bay. Cabo Falſo, ſo called by the Portugueſe, who, returning from India, miſtook it for the Cape of Good Hope, is between theſe two capes, eight or nine leagues eaſtward beyond the Cape of Good Hope; the Portugueſe, who believed there were no more capes, called this, which they afterwards diſcovered in the ſame courſe, Cabo Falſo. Along the *Coaſt.*

[a] Robbe Geogr. vol. ii. p. 242 La Croix, Relat. vol. iv. p. 12, Davity, Dapper, & al. [b] Kolben. Eng. edit. 8vo. vol. i. p. 28. 30, 31. 300. La Croix, vol. iv. p. 38. & al. ſup. citat.

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coaſts, on both ſides of the Cape of Good Hope, are many fine bays, where ſhips may ride in the greateſt ſafety. Twenty-ſeven leagues to the north-weſt is Saldanha Bay, ſo named from a Portugueſe captain ſhipwrecked on that coaſt. The largeſt and moſt commodious is Table, or Vaſel Bay, on the ſouth, and near the mountain of that name, ſix leagues in circumference, with four fathom water cloſe to the beach, ſheltered from all but north-weſt winds. Oppoſite to this bay is Robu Eilan, or the *Iſland of Rabbits*, in 34 deg. 40 min. of ſouth latitude, to the eaſt of Cabo das Agulhas, and ſixty-ſeven leagues from the Cape of Good Hope. Peter Both, in 1661, diſcovered a bay which he named Uleeſt, ſheltered only from north winds, in which is a ſmall iſland, and on the weſt a rivulet of freſh water, extremely convenient for European mariners. Twenty-five or thirty leagues farther eaſt Both diſcovered Maſhell Bay, afterwards named by the Portugueſe Seno Formoſo. Next to this is Seno do Lago, from its reſemblance to a lake. There are ſeveral roads in the extent of this bay, and an iſland called Ilha dos Caos. Cabo de S. Franciſco, and Cabo das Serras, are marked upon charts between theſe two bays. The iſland Contento and Cabo do Arecito, are near Cabo das Serras, and ſomething more north-eaſt is St. Chriſtopher's River, called San Chriſtovano by the Portugueſe, and by the Hottentots Nagoa. The country beyond this river was called by the Portugueſe, who diſcovered it on the feſtival of our Lord's Nativity, Terra do Natal. Between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape das Agulhas, are the Sweet, Salt, and Jaquilina rivers, which run into the ſea; the Sweet-water river flows from the bottom of the Table mountain, though the ſpring is aſſerted to riſe on the weſt of lake Gale, between the Mountains of the Moon, and to run into the ſea near Cape Falſo. Pigafetta miſtook this for the river Camiſſa, which runs from that lake, and whoſe mouth is more eaſtward, and nearer Terra do Natal. The company of the ſhip Mauritius, wrecked on this coaſt in 1662, began a fort oppoſite to this river, in order to defend and ſecure a watering-place, but the work was never completed. The mouth of the ſalt-water river, ſo called from the white ſalt made therein by the ſun in hot and droughty ſeaſons, is on the eaſt. This receives the freſh water of three rivers, about nine or ten leagues up the country, and of a rivulet which ſprings up in the ſands about half a league from the ſhore. The mouth of the

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the river Jaquelina is alſo on the eaſt, and half a league diſtant from the Table Gulf [c].

There are no conſiderable kingdoms throughout this large extent of country, the whole being inhabited by different nations or tribes of Hottentots, governed by different honquers, or *chiefs*, who have no fixed reſidence, living, like the Arabs, in huts or portable houſes, and removing their kraals, or *villages*, whenever the paſture becomes too bare for the ſubſiſtence of their cattle, and upon the natural or violent death of an inhabitant. The known nations, according to our author, are the Gunjeman, Kochaquan, Suſſaquan, Odiquan, Chirigriquan, Greater and Leſſer Namaquan, Attaquan, Koopman, Heſſaquan, Sonquan, Dunquan, Damaquan, Gauros or Gouriquan, Houteniquan, Chamtover, and Heikom [d]. *Hottentot nations.*

The Gunjeman nation, who ſold their territory, ſtill live promiſcuouſly among the Dutch, holding a ſmall part only of their ancient poſſeſſions. This nation, called alſo Goringhaiquas, pretend to the property of the Cape, of which they are ſaid to be natives. They conſiſted of about ninety-five families, and ſent into the field three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms [e]. *Gunjeman.*

The Kochaquan, called Saldachaters by Dapper, border northward on the Gunjeman, and hold the greateſt part of their territory, the meadows excepted, which are extremely fine and numerous, and poſſeſſed by the Europeans, who furniſh the company's ſhips with proviſions. The Dutch keep a conſtant guard in this country for the ſecurity of their ſalt-pits, to watch the ſea, and to give notice to the Cape of ſhips in ſight. The chief of this nation, conſiſting of four hundred and fifty families inhabiting kraals a quarter of a league diſtant from each other, and containing thirty, forty, and fifty families, aſſumes the title of Scheck, and pretends to the ſovereignty over all the Hottentots, ſeventy-five leagues round the Cape of Good Hope. Oldaſoa, who had but one wife, being extremely chaſte for a Hottentot, was the reigning ſcheck in 1661, of a well proportioned body, and of the ſweeteſt and moſt peaceable diſpoſition. This prince, who avoided broils and contentions with the Dutch, dying of a lingering diſorder, left one daughter, the princeſs Ramis. His viceroy, Gonnomoa, extremely corpulent, and known to the Europeans by the name of the Black Captain, had *Kochaquan.*

[c] Kolb. ubi ſupra, p. 61, & alib. paſſ. [d] Id. ibid. p. 13. 33. & alib. paſſ. [e] La Croix ibid. p. 15, al. ſup. citat.

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three wives and several children; and Caucasoa, the third person in the state, of a genteel appearance for a Hottentot, was a courteous and polite man[f].

Suffaquan. The Suffaquan, or Saffiquan, border northward, at some distance from Saldanha Bay, on the Kochaquan nation. This tribe were numerous and rich in cattle, till plundered by Dutch freebooters, who, in the infancy of their settlement, pillaged and robbed the Hottentot nations, forced them to abandon their country, and the sooner, on account of the scarcity of spring water. This nation seems to be the Chainonquan, mentioned by La Croix, a numerous and rich people, who, with their aged chief Sousoa, and his son Goboa, married to Camisoa, retreated from the neighbourhood of the Cape to a more distant country, towards the Cobonas, the blackest of the Negroes, with long hair, and, by the account of the Cape Hottentots, a cannibal nation, possessed of mountains producing plenty of the greatest curiosities. The Hottentots disdain descent, kindred, and connection with these people.

Odiquan. To the Suffaquan adjoins the Odiquan nation. These two tribes having entered into a perpetual confederacy against the Chirigriquan neighbouring nation, with which they have had long and bloody wars, join upon the least injury or affront given by the Chirigriquan, in pursuit of satisfaction and revenge.

Chirigriquan. The Chirigriquan is the next nation; a numerous people, remarkably strong in body, and famed amongst the Hottentots for their dexterity in throwing the hassagaye. The Elephant river, so named from the great number of elephants frequenting its banks, runs cross this country, whose soil is superior to the Suffaquan and Odiquan. There are many hills, whose tops, like most others in Hottentot countries, are covered with meadows and a large thick wood, divided by several roads, yet extremely dangerous to pass, on account of lions, tigers, leopards, and wolves. This nation, with which a regular commerce has been established, were extremely furious against Europeans, having greatly suffered by the Dutch freebooters, who robbed them in the most barbarous manner of their lives and cattle.

Namaquan. The two Namaquan nations of the same name, yet different in form of government and manner of life, of the best sense amongst the Hottentots, and able to take the

[f] Kolben, ibid. p. 23.

field

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field with twenty thouſand men, are greatly reſpected for their ſtrength, valour, and diſcretion, and the women are extremely gay and artful. The Leſſer lies on the coaſt; the Greater is the next nation eaſtward. Both territories are mountainous, ſtony, and ſandy, the ſoil of the vallies indifferent, with little wood, and but one ſpring. The Elephant river, which runs through the two countries, principally ſupplies the inhabitants with water. There are numbers of wild beaſts, and a particular ſort of deer in theſe countries, ſpotted white and yellow, never ſeen ſingle, but herding in hundreds, and ſometimes in thouſands together. The fleſh is generally fat and delicate, but of different taſte from European veniſon. The Namaquans, like the Chirigriquans, were extremely exaſperated againſt the Europeans, by the cruelty and rapine of Dutch freebooters. Without quitting the field they had maintained a battle for three days, and deſpairing of victory by force, had, by ſtratagem, vanquiſhed and defeated a Dutch party. They ſent a deputation to Mr. Van Aſſenbourg, who arrived at the Cape in 1708, to aſſure that governor of their readineſs to enter into and obſerve exactly a treaty of alliance. Each deputy wore a ſmall plate of poliſhed iron, in the ſhape of a half moon, on his forehead. Having waited on the governor, and diſcharged their commiſſion with ſurpriſing ability and diſcretion, to the great honour of their reſpective nations, and having been liberally entertained for ſome days at the company's expence, they returned well ſatisfied. At their audience of leave, they told the governor, that they promiſed themſelves, from his perſonal virtues, all peace and ſecurity; and that they ſhould not fail of making the ſame impreſſions on their countrymen, which they had themſelves received of his integrity, diſintereſtedneſs, and generoſity.

Theſe Hottentots travel a hundred and fifty and two hundred leagues from the Cape. Riebeck, governor of the Dutch ſettlement in 1661, ſent thirteen Dutchmen, in an equipage drawn by four oxen, in order to eſtabliſh a correſpondence, and to diſcover gold or other curioſities among the Namaquans. The ambaſſadors having travelled a hundred and fifty leagues, at length diſcovered the Namaquan kraals, and were received with great courteſy and civility. They were firſt entertained for four hours by a band of one hundred muſicians with a concert of Namaquan compoſition, conducted afterwards to the palace, and introduced to king Acambia, who had three daughters of gigantic ſtature, and regaled them with milk

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and mutton. The ambaſſadors having preſented the king and people with bits of copper, grains of coral, ſome brandy and tobacco, and inſtructed the Namaquans in the uſe of that weed, with which they were before unacquainted, returned perfectly ſatisfied with, and convinced of the extraordinary ſtature of the Namaquans, and the beauty of the ladies, whoſe perſons and apparel were beſmeared with greaſe, though adorned, like the Songuas, with umbrellas of oſtrich feathers. On November 14, of the ſame year, thirteen more ſet out from the fort for a more accurate diſcovery of this nation; twelve only returned on February 13, in the following year, who gave an account that one of the company had been killed by an elephant; that having travelled a hundred and fifty leagues without a lucky or amuſing adventure, they had diſcovered one Chirigriquan hut, near the place where the Namaquans had before reſided; theſe laſt having departed and gone to a diſtant country.

Attaquan. The Attaquans are a brave, ſprightly, good-humoured nation, ſeldom at war, living in tranquillity, in ſmall bodies, at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, the ſoil of their country being indifferent, and ill provided with water. Theſe Hottentots make fires at the tops of the higheſt mountains when under apprehenſion of an enemy. Upon theſe ſignals all that are able to bear arms repair to a fixed place of rendezvous, and a numerous army is immediately aſſembled.

Koopman. The Koopman nation, ſo named from one of their captains, lies ſouthward of the Gunjeman. The Palamit, a rapid river, receiving on both ſides ſeveral rivulets, and a conſiderable ſtream, called the Black River, has its ſource in Drakenſtein mountains, and runs, winding through the vallies of this territory, into the ſea. There is a hot bath, together with ſeveral ſalt-pits in this country, where Europeans are continually taking in many large and rich tracts of land, unemployed by the Koopmans. This territory is extremely fertile, abounds in wood, and is well watered.

Heſſaquan. The Heſſaquan, the richeſt of the Hottentot nations, whoſe kraals are the moſt numerous and beſt peopled, border likewiſe on the Gunjeman nation. Theſe Hottentots trade conſiderably with the Europeans; many enter into and make fortunes in their ſervice, employing their wages in the purchaſe of cattle. This territory, whoſe paſtures are covered with great and ſmall cattle, is eſteemed the moſt fertile of all. The Heſſaquans, the moſt luxurious

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luxurious and effeminate Hottentot nation, though leſs inclined to war, are brave upon occaſions, but never purſue enemies beyond their frontiers.

The Sonquan nation inhabit a mountainous, rocky, and poor country, to the eaſt of, and bordering on the Koopman. The enterpriſing and lively Sonquas, who are dextrous in the management of arms and in chace, take up in general the military profeſſion, ſerving as mercenaries in the Hottentot armies. The Sonquas, three or four thouſand in number, are great hunters, men and women; their diet is veniſon, and roots inſtead of bread; their dreſs conſiſts of buffalo ſkins, and the women adorn their heads with umbrellas of oſtrich feathers. The Sonquas are famed at the Cape for managing bees, and barter great quantities of honey with the Europeans, who mix it with water for refreſhing draughts. *Sonquan.*

The Dunquans are next to the Sonquan nation; their territory is leſs mountainous, and extremely fruitful, abounding with cattle and game, and well watered by ſeveral rivulets running into the Palamit river. *Dunquan.*

The Damaquans, great hunters and admirers of the fleſh of wild beaſts, are the next adjoining nation, poſſeſſing a more level tract of land, equally fruitful and plentiful in cattle and game, and producing water-melons and wild hemp. Here are ſeveral ſalt-pits, but great ſcarcity of wood, and a ſort of moſs, offenſive when ſet on fire, is made uſe of for fuel. The river Palamit, which turns and winds throughout this country, without any bridges, is extremely inconvenient to travellers, who are obliged to paſs it in ſmall canoes or on floats of timber. *Damaquans.*

The Gauros, or Gauriquan, who lie next to the Damaquan, are a numerous people, living in great eaſe and plenty in a ſmall territory, ſwarming with more wild beaſts than any country about the Cape. The ſoil is extremely rich and fruitful, well watered and abounding with wood. The inhabitants, whoſe courage and dexterity are frequently exerciſed, diſtinguiſh themſelves by their apparel, which is made of the ſkins of wild animals. *Gauriquan.*

The Houteniquan, whoſe territory, full of woods, intermixed with meadows, produces a wonderful variety of herbs and beautiful flowers of exceeding fragrancy, lie on the coaſt to the north-eaſt of the Gauras. *Houteniquan.*

The Gauriquas and Houteniguas are very probably the Carigriquan and Hoſaan Hottentots, who were ſhepherds and hunters, inhabitants of the lands round the vallies of Saldanha bay.

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Chamtovers. The Chamtovers, who border on the Houteniguas, poſſeſs a flat tract of land extremely fertile, abounding in paſtures, with ſmall woods of the moſt lofty trees, in the Hottentot territories. Here is game and all kinds of wild beaſts; and ſeveral large ſtreams, enriched with various ſorts of river and ſea-fiſh, divide and water the country.

Heykoms. The Heykoms, who lie north-eaſtward, and border on the Chamtovers, are expoſed and ſubject to great inconveniences from the want of water: yet the vallies of this exceeding mountainous country are fertile, and cattle of every kind thrive on the brackiſh water. All kinds of game and wild animals abound in this territory.

There are ſeveral nations hitherto ſcarce known, that extend themſelves along the coaſt, from the Gauros as far as Terra do Natal; and the Chorogaugaus poſſeſs a large tract of country northward, bordering on the Attaguas, with many others between this nation and Angola [s].

Births and character of the Hottentots. The Hottentots are brought into the world by the aſſiſtance of a decoction of milk and tobacco, to forward their births, and immediately rubbed with freſh cow-dung, afterwards waſhed with the juice of Hottentot figs, and when dried by the ſun, beſmeared with melted butter or fat, then named by the mother or father, Horſe, Lion, Sheep, or Aſs, according to their eſteem for the beaſt, and taught to ſmoak as ſoon as weaned. They are of good ſtature, well made, from five to ſix feet high, the women excepted; who are ſhort, with ſmall and tender feet, ſubject to few diſtempers, and generally of long life. Their colour is of a nut or dingy olive; their heads are large, with piercing eyes, and noſes flatted by art, with thick lips, and teeth white as ivory, their wool is ſhort, and black as jet, and their feet large and broad. The Hottentots, though ſenſible of the noble fruits reaped from induſtry by Europeans, remain the moſt lazy people in the univerſe: neither ſex pares the nails of their fingers or toes. They eſteem thinking as labour, and abhorring both as capital plagues, paſs three parts in four of their lives with amazing ſtupidity in ſhameful idleneſs. They are notwithſtanding, occaſionally, ſurpriſingly active; they ſurpaſs in ſwiftneſs the fleeteſt horſe, and are famed for dexterity in diſcharging arrows, throwing ſtones, haſſagayes, and rackum ſticks. Though unacquainted with agriculture, and the qualities of tobacco before the arrival of the Europeans, they now excel, and are often conſulted in

[s] Kolben's Hiſt. p. 78.

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the management of lands and choice of tobacco. Their mutual affection, liberality, and benevolence, extends to each other in the most friendly manner; and they are extremely hospitable to strangers of every nation. They are of good sense, and in integrity, in the expeditious execution of justice, and in chastity, excel all or most nations in the world; yet practise, in the midst of these eminent virtues, the most barbarous and unnatural cruelties, upon the bare authority of Hottentot customs, the foundation and sole reason of all their institutions [h].

Barbarous customs.

On the birth of twin girls, or of a boy and girl, if the parents are rich, and the mother complains of the want of milk; and when the same plea, or poverty, is set up by the indigent, the worse featured of the girls, is allowed by the whole kraal, to be buried alive, or exposed to birds or beasts of prey.

If the eldest, and in default of sons, the next male relations, who inherits all Hottentot estates, determines to get ride of his father, mother, or relation, who are regarded as superannuated when incapable of any useful domestic performance, the kraal is convoked, and informed of the condition and request of the heir; consent is never refused, and a day is immediately appointed for the removal of the superannuated man or woman, whether the wealthiest, or obscurest amongst them, and the person is compelled to surrender his whole estate to the claimant, whether son or male relation. This heir entertains the kraal that bids farewel, and attends the superannuated person, who is conveyed upon a carriage, into the middle of a lone hut, to die with hunger, or to be devoured by wild beasts, without remorse, or scruple of affection, duty, or respect. The most impious practice of Hottentot youths who insult and beat their mothers, with impunity, is an indulgence equally barbarous and cruel in the father, as unnatural and vicious in the sons, and evince the Hottentot race to be the most brutish and abominable of the human species.

Dress.

The kroffe, or skin of a sheep, or wild beast, prepared with cow dung and sheep's fat, and afterwards greased with butter or fat, fresh or stinking, according to the rank or wealth of the Hottentot, hangs, like a mantle, over the shoulders, high or low, and open or closed before, according to the seasons, or custom of the tribe. The men, who have no covering but a composition of fat,

[h] Ibid. vol. i. p. 38. 117. 141. 211. 324. & alib. pass.

foot,

foot, and dirt, in the most raging heats, wear cat or lamb skin caps in cold and wet seasons. The face and fore part of the neck are always bare; and, the verenda excepted, which are covered with a kull krosse, or piece of a wild beast's skin, they go naked from the hips downwards. Leather stockings, and sandals cut out of the raw hides of elephants or oxen, are used occasionally, in driving their herds to pasture, or in passing sands or rocks. A greasy pouch hangs about the neck, with a knife, pipe, tobacco, dacha, and a small piece of wood called susa, burnt at both ends against witchcraft. Three ivory rings adorn the left arm, to which, on journies, is fastened a bag of provisions. The kirri and rackum sticks are in the right hand, and another is carried in the left, with a bushy tail of a wild cat, fox, or other animal fastened to it for a handkerchief. The honquers and captains, who were formerly distinguished only by fair skins of tygers or wild cats, appear at present at the head of the army, in councils, and on every solemn occasion, with brass crowns, and brass-headed canes. These ornaments were presented by the Dutch to the chiefs and captains of the nations in their alliance, and are now annexed to, descend with, and are esteemed an unalienable property, and distinctive badge of their dignity. The women, whose hair is also short, woolly, and black, constantly wear caps made of the skins of wild animals, pointing spirally up from the crown of the head, and two krosses, the lesser undermost; which being shaped and worn like those of the men, open. The fore part of the body appears naked down to the pubis: a wonderful broad and callous excrescence growing above and flapping over the pudenda, seems designed by nature to conceal those parts, which are always covered with a kut krosse, made of sheep skin stripped of the wool, and three times larger than the kull krosse worn by the men: the posteriors are hid by a small krosse, fastened round the waist, which reaches below the hams, and their legs are encircled, from the knee to the ankle, with slips of leather, resembling one smooth continued swathe.

Both sexes are fond of ornaments; the men distinguish themselves by bladders of wild beasts, blown up and tied to the hair, which is powdered with buchu; and bits of brass plates, looking-glass, and buttons, are intermixed; the rich add pieces of mother of pearl, which the Hottentots shape and polish in the most curious manner. Brass and glass beads are ornaments the most esteemed and worn by

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by both sexes in necklaces, bracelets, and girdles; the beads for the waist are stained with various colours. The ladies, whose wool is concealed by their caps, plaister their foreheads with grease and buchu, and make a red spot over each eye and cheek, upon the nose and chin. The bodies of both sexes, who hold the fat of fish in the utmost abhorrence, are besmeared from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot with fat, butter, and soot intermixed; and the rich display their luxury in a greater quantity of grease, their distinctive mark of quality and wealth.

Manner of eating and dressing victuals.

These people, restrained by traditionary laws from the flesh of hogs, hares, rabbits, and fish without scales, eat in the most ravenous manner, when their humour or appetite calls, in the open air when fair, and within doors in windy or rainy weather. Hares and rabbits are allowed to the women, but the pure blood of beasts, and flesh of moles are permitted only to men, who eat separate, the wedding-day excepted, when the bridegroom is indulged in eating with the women. Their food consists of the flesh and entrails of cattle, and other wild beasts, with fruits and roots of various kinds. These are gathered by the women, whose choice is directed by the hedge-hog and Bavian ape. The Hottentots eat no sort of fruit or roots but such as these animals feed upon; and between their andersmakens, or *solemnities*, no flesh but of cattle that die naturally, and of wild beasts or venison. The flesh and entrails are boiled in blood, and sometimes in milk, which, according to our author, would be extremely agreeable, but for the filthiness of the cooks. Lice are commonly eaten, and old shoes, made of raw hides of oxen or deer; the hair is singed off, when they are steeped in water, and broiled on the fire. No salt or spice is made use of in dressing Hottentot dishes, yet they devour with great avidity the salted and high seasoned victuals of Europeans. The usual and ordinary drink is cows milk and water; ewes milk is permitted only to women; but both sexes are immoderate lovers of wine, brandy, and arrack; and their passion for tobacco, dacha, or wild hemp, and buspach, or a mixture of dacha and tobacco, and the root kanna, is without bounds.

Government.

The chiefs, or konquers, of each nation, who are hereditary, engage before instalment, which is performed in a solemn manner, to preserve the ancient form of government, the prerogatives and privileges of the kraals and people. The command of the army, and conduct of

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of negotiations of peace, are their province. They preſide alſo in the councils, which are compoſed of the nobility, or captains of each kraal, and collect the votes, the majority of which determine the reſolutions of theſe aſſemblies held at the reſidence of the chief. The captains of every kraal equally engage not to alter the laws and cuſtoms of the kraals. Their office is to preſerve the peace, adminiſter juſtice, and, in time of war, to command under the chief, the troops of their ſeveral kraals. All civil and criminal cauſes are heard and determined by them, ſtate criminals excepted, who are tried by the chief, or konquer, and the captains of every kraal, aſſembled juridically [1].

Hottentot kraals, or villages.

The Hottentot kraals, or villages, conſiſt of low huts like ovens, whoſe area is oval, about fourteen feet diameter, ranged in a circle, built with ſticks, and covered with mats made of flags and bulruſhes, interwoven by the women, in the cloſeſt manner, when dried by the ſun. The huts appertaining to the rich have two coverings; the uppermoſt is of ſkins, not penetrable by exceſſive heat or violent rain. None receive light but by the entrance, an arch about three feet high, and two broad, with a ſkin faſtened to it to take up or let down, according to the ſerenity or inclemency of the weather. The generality of the kraals contain from three to four, and ſome five hundred inhabitants: the families conſiſt of ten or twelve perſons, young and old, who lie in ſeparate holes dug round the huts; in the middle of each is a hole about a foot deep, for the fire place. The furniture of theſe ſmoaky huts, are a few pots for cooking and drinking, a few earthern veſſels for milk and butter, with kroſſes, bows and arrows, haſſagayes, kirri and rackum ſticks.

There is but one narrow entrance into a kraal, whoſe area is green, and is the lodgment for calves and ſmall cattle; the great are ranged round the kraal on the outſide, with their heads cloſe to the huts, and tied two and two by the neck, to prevent ſtraying: no watch is appointed to guard them from wild beaſts, the cattle giving notice of the approaching enemy by a general lowing: an empty hut is preſerved in every kraal for calves and lambs too weak to follow their dams, which are drove to

[1] Kolben's Hiſt. p. 84. 217. 223, & alib. paſſ. Od. Lopez, Davity, Dapper, & al. mult.

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paſture between ſix and ſeven in the morning, and back to the kraal between five and ſix in the evening.

Manner of herding cattle.

The Hottentots, whoſe hearts are ſet upon their cattle, their only wealth, and ſole objects of their care, who are extremely affected by the flouriſhing or declining condition of the herds, alternately drive and tend them to paſture, in proportion to the herds and number of men in the kraal, where a ſingle ſheep belonging to the pooreſt Hottentot is guarded with equal care as thoſe of the richeſt in the kraal. The backeleyers, a ſort of fighting oxen, choſen by the moſt ſkilful Hottentot for the purpoſe, tamed and trained like elephants in Aſiatic nations, for war, are of great uſe in the conduct of the herds, who bring and preſerve ſtragglers within compaſs. Theſe warriors know every inhabitant of the kraal, and furiouſly run at and attack the buſchies, or robbers of cattle.

Manner of gelding bulls and rams.

The bulls and rams run with the cows and ewes the whole year: the Hottentots geld the bulls at one year, and the rams at half a year old. The bulls are thrown upon their backs, and their horns fixed in the ground; their legs are extended to the full ſtretch, by ropes faſtened to ſtakes drove into the ground; the teſticles are tied up in the bag as tight and cloſe as poſſible, to ſtop all communication with the veſſels above: the animal is then let looſe in this condition, and the teſticles rot off in time. The rams teſticles are tied up in the ſame manner, but bruiſed to maſh before they are ſet at liberty.

Phyſicians.

In every kraal is a phyſician, an officer called ſuri, cow-doctor, and midwife, all elective, and without ſalary; a ſmall preſent and entertainment, occaſionally accepted, being their only perquiſites. The health of the inhabitants is the province of the phyſician, whoſe practice is attended with ſurpriſing ſucceſs, and who keeps his preſcriptions and remedies inviolably ſecret. The ſuri directs the religious, performs the marriage and funeral ceremonies, and is the operator in the cuſtom of depriving the males of one teſticle. The cow-doctor ſtudies the diſorders incident to, inſpects, and watches the health of the cattle. The midwife, choſen by the women, out of the moſt able in the kraal, holds her office for life.

Peculiar cuſtom.

The operation on the male children, peculiar to Hottentot nations, who confeſſedly ſurpaſs in agility all others in the univerſe, induced Saar, Vogel, Tachart, Boeving, and moſt writers, to believe their ſurpriſing ſwiftneſs was owing only to the exſection of the teſticle, and that this was the original cauſe of the practice. Our author, notwithſtanding

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withſtanding the accounts of ſome Hottentots, who confirm this opinion, affirms the practice to be religious. He ſays, the intelligent Hottentots, who keep with great ſecreſy the origin of their cuſtoms and ceremonies, are quite frank when queſtioned on this point, and declare the obſervation a law, of the breach of which they have no memory, that has prevailed throughout all generations, "That no man ſhall have carnal knowledge of a woman before he is deprived of the left teſticle: that, to ſecure the obſervance, the operation is performed on the children, when eight or nine years of age: that ſhould a marriage be conſummated previous to the exſection, the man and woman would be expoſed to the mercy of the chief, and the woman probably tore to pieces by her ſex, who have a prevailing opinion that a man with two teſticles conſtantly begets twins. In treaties, therefore, of marriage, the friends of the contracting party, to avoid an immodeſt examination, certify and aver the operation [k].

Manner of courtſhip, and nuptial ceremony.

The candidate for this ſtate diſcovers his intention to his father, if living, and, in caſe of his death, to the next in authority of his kindred, whoſe approbation is abſolutely neceſſary. He repairs with the youth to the father of the woman, and demands, in his name, the daughter in marriage: the mother is inſtantly conſulted by the huſband, who returns an immediate anſwer, ſeldom negative, unleſs the damſel is already contracted: in this caſe both depart directly. If the iſſue is favourable, and the youth is already made a man, according to the Hottentot ceremonial, two or three of the fateſt oxen, in proportion to the figure of the family, are drove to the reſidence of the lady. The relations of both parties attend the nuptials, thoſe of the bride receiving the relations of the bridegroom with the utmoſt civility; the oxen are killed; the whole company beſmear their bodies with the fat and buchu, and the women, to appear more brilliant, daub their foreheads, cheeks, and chins, with red chalk. The nuptial ceremony approaching, the men and women ſquat themſelves on the ground, in different circles, at a ſmall diſtance from each other; the bridegroom ſquats himſelf in the center of the circle formed by the men. The ſuri, or *maſter of religious ceremonies*, who is always the ſuri of the bride's kraal, enters the circle, and advancing to, piſſes on, the bridegroom, who receives with great eagerneſs, and rubs the urine into the furrows of the fat with which

[k] Ibid. p. 113, 117, 118, & alib. paſſ. & al. ſupra citat.

he

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he is covered, till the ſuri returns from the woman's circle, where he performs the ſame ceremony over the bride, who receives the ſtream with equal reſpect. The ceremony ends with the ſtock of urine, and the following wiſhes, which are pronounced aloud by the ſuri: "May you live long and happily together; I wiſh you much joy; may you have a ſon before the end of the year; may this ſon prove a man of courage, and a good huntſman; may this ſon be a comfort to you in your old age." An entertainment of feaſting and dancing concludes this and every Hottentot ſolemnity; but it is remarkable that theſe people, the greateſt lovers and admirers of muſic, ſhould admit none in their marriage feſtivals. Polygamy is allowed; and marriages, upon ſatisfactory cauſe ſhewn to the kraal, may be diſſolved amongſt Hottentots: a man who is divorced from his wife may marry again, but a woman divorced from her huſband cannot; nor can firſt or ſecond couſins intermarry: relations in theſe degrees of conſanguity, convicted of marriage or fornication, are cudgelled to death, without any regard to wealth or power; and adultery is alſo puniſhed with death[1].

Education of the Hottentot youth.

The Hottentot youths, who converſe only with the women (not being permitted to ſpeak to men, till ſummoned into their ſociety, and made men) are inſtructed in the laws and cuſtoms of the ancient Hottentots by theſe female repoſitories of their opinions and traditions. On theſe ſolemnities the inhabitants aſſemble in the middle of the kraal, where the men ſquat in a circle on the ground The oldeſt Hottentot who propoſes the youth's introduction into the aſſembly, receiving an unanimous aſſent, advances to the candidate, who ſits near by, but within five or ſix inches of the ground, and informs him of his admittance; he obſerves, that his thoughts, words, and actions, from that time, are to be manly, and that all converſation with his mother, which would baniſh and render him unworthy of the ſociety of man, muſt ſubſide for the future. The elder then piſſes on the youth, who rubs the urine into the fat and ſoot with which the body is beſmeared, while he pronounces aloud, "Good fortune attend thee; live to old age; increaſe and multiply; may thy beard grow ſoon."

Manner of war.

Hottentots, like other nations, ſenſible of injuries, and keen in reſentment, ſeek for redreſs in war, upon invaſions of right, and national affronts. Every Hottentot,

[1] Ibid. p. 157, 158, 159.

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fired with revenge, flies to arms, and the place of rendezvous, whence deputies are dispatched, previous to acts of hostility, to remonstrate the injury, and demand satisfaction. Upon refusal or delay of justice, the armed nation marches in search of the enemy: the attack begins with the most frightful noise; showers of arrows are instantly discharged, the Hottentots continuing the battle in alternate sallies and retreats to the main body. When the hassagayes are spent, they throw rackum sticks and stones, for want of arrows, and ward off those of the enemy with the kirri sticks, till the fortune of the day declares victory, which depends greatly on the judgment and conduct of the chief, in the direction of the time and place for driving on the backeleyers. These animals stamp, kick, and gore with incredible fury and activity wherever they break in and penetrate, and, if well followed by the men, speedily rout the enemy.

A battle generally decides the war; a Hottentot army once routed never rallies. The conquerors triumph and pursue the flying enemy with astonishing roarings, shoutings, and exclamations. All prisoners are killed, and both armies bury their dead, which are never insulted or plundered.

Deserters and spies are immediately put to death. On treaties of peace, part are delivered up by the contending nations, and the rest pass the remainder of life in contempt and want.

The Chantover and Heykom nations are governed, during the battle, by a pipe like a flagelet, played upon by the chief. These people retreat and renew fighting as the pipe ceases or continues playing; and pursue in the same manner, or desist pursuing, the flying enemy.

The Namaquan, Sussiquan, and Odiquan nations, fight with the utmost bravery, till acquainted that their loss is superior to that of the enemy, when they leave the field.

Several nations continue fighting while the general lives, whose custom is to conquer or die.

The Damaquan and Gauriquan nations fight while their generals are in sight; and their armies always fly when the generals disappear or are slain.

The Hottentots, who are esteemed the most religious observers of national faith, who fight with equal ardour and resolution to support, and never desert, the cause of their allies, keep up and perform mock battles in time of peace, in order to train the youth, and preserve the old in the practice of arms [m].

[m] Ibid. p. 284, & seq.

General

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General hunts amongst Hottentots, who are fond of the flesh of wild beasts, and particularly that of tigers, take place in a scarcity of cattle, or when the neighbourhood is infested with those animals. The arms of chace and war are the same, and the whole kraal is engaged in the pursuit, relieving each other with incredible speed and resolution, and exhibiting surprising activity and address in their attacks and engagements with lions, tygers, and leopards. They surround, if possible, those animals, by dividing into different parties, each individual boldly facing the animal, even when it is roused to fury by showers of arrows. *Manner of hunting.*

A Hottentot who has encountered singly, and killed a lion, tyger, leopard, elephant, or rhinoceros, is esteemed and distinguished as a hero. Upon his return to the kraal, he squats down in his own hut, where an ancient Hottentot, deputed by the kraal, visits and compliments him in their name, at the same time giving notice of their expecting his coming to receive the honours due to his exploit. The hero rises and attends the deputy to the middle of the kraal, where he squats down on a mat, spread for the solemnity, in the center of the men, who squat round him in a circle. The deputy then advancing, pronounces certain words, and pisses upon him from head to foot. The deputy afterwards lights a pipe of tobacco, and having smoaked two or three whiffs, delivers it to be smoaked out in turns by the assembly, and the ashes are scattered by the deputy on the hero, who instantly rises, the whole circle rising with him, and receives the personal compliments and thanks of the kraal for the signal service rendered to his country. The ceremony being finished, the hero returns to his hut, where he is three days sumptuously entertained, at the expence of the kraal, with the nicest rarities, and called out to no public action; nor is his wife admitted till the evening of the third day, when the hero receives the lady with the greatest marks of fondness and affection; a fat sheep is killed, and the neighbours are entertained, who congratulate the lady upon her being restored to the arms, and become a partner of her husband's glory. Every Hottentot enjoys the liberty of hunting, and pursuing his game throughout the Hottentot countries. *Hottentot heroes.*

Hottentots fish in the sea and rivers, and many are fishermen by profession, who supply the Cape with rock-fish, or fish without scales, from which they themselves are restrained by law. They are esteemed extremely *Manner of fishing.*

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dexterous by Europeans in casting and drawing nets; angle well; and take fish with the spear, or pointed rod, and by groping or tickling. Their fish-hooks are European; the spear is used in rivers and creeks, where they wade higher than the middle frequently, and treading upon the fish, pierce and bring them up with the spear. In shallow water they take fish with their hands, and grope in creeks and basons, formed by nature, on the tops of the rocks, near the shore, upon the fall of tides. The Hottentots, who fish from the rocks with lines made of guts, or sinews of beasts, baited with muscles, whistle upon the discovery of a valuable fish, and shout if the whistling is drowned by the roar of the sea, which allures and brings great shoals of fish round the baits.

Excellent swimmers. The Hottentots swim from the shore to the rocks and back again, loaded with fish. Their manner of swimming is extremely surprising; they swim erect, with their necks out of water; they balance themselves with their arms, extended upwards, and rise and fall with the waves in raging seas, without apprehension, in great chearfulness and security, and seem, when swimming, to walk upon firm ground.

Butchers. Their butchers, who observe nearly the same method in killing great and small cattle, proceed anatomically in the dissection and separation of the parts of slain animals. The flesh, bones, membranes, muscles, veins, and arteries, are parted, and entire, in a surprising shortness of time; yet the deaths of the animals are lingering and shocking to Europeans. The sheep is stretched with the back on the ground, two persons hold the hind and fore feet, which are tied extended, and a third, having ripped up the belly, tears with one hand the guts from the carcase, and stirring the blood with the other, to prevent congealing, avoids, with great exactness, the breaking of the blood-vessels about the heart[p].

The horns of great cattle, thrown likewise on their backs, are fixed in the ground, and the legs, stretched to the full length, are fastened to stakes. The physicians, who are surgeons also, are generally present, and attentive to the motion of the heart. Every part, but the excrement, is made use of; and the bones, which are curiously extracted from the flesh, might be quickly mounted into perfect skeletons.

The reeking sheep skins are rubbed with fat only, if dressed for a stranger, and with fresh cow-dung and fat al-

[p] Ibid. p. 228.

ternately,

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ternately, till black and ſtinking, for a native. The hides are tanned by rubbing wood aſhes into the hair, which they ſprinkle afterwards with water, and lay, rolled up, two days in the ſea.

The ſkinners or taylors inſtruments for ſewing, are a bone of a bird, for an awl, ſplit ſinews or veins of the back-bones of cattle, dried in the ſun, for thread, and a knife for ſhaping the kroſſes, and cutting the hides into ſtrops. Thoſe ſtrops are of great uſe in Hottentot œconomy. *Skinners and taylors.*

The ivory workers make ornamental rings for the arms; a knife is the only tool; and the rings, when finiſhed, are as round, ſmooth, and bright, as the moſt expert European can produce. *Ivory workers.*

The mat-makers are moſtly women, and weave with their fingers only. Neither light, wind, or rain, penetrates their work. The mats are uſed for covering huts, and are made of flags, reeds, and bulruſhes, dried in the ſun. *Mat-makers.*

Hottentot ropes, made of the ſame materials, are equally ſtrong, neat, and durable, as the beſt European, made of hemp. The flags and reeds are twiſted ſeparately into ſmall ſtrings, and tied afterwards to the length of four yards; theſe lengths are twiſted one round another, to the thickneſs of an inch and a quarter. Though the rope-makers have no tools but their hands, frequent experiments have been made on the ſtrength of theſe four-yard ropes in length, and inch and quarter thick, which no pair of oxen could ever break. *Rope-makers.*

All Hottentots are potters, and make their earthen veſſels of the mould of ant-hills, firſt cleared of ſand and gravel, and kneaded well afterwards with bruiſed and incorporated ant-eggs. They beat upon a flat ſtone, faſhion and ſmooth with their hands the mould or clay, in the form of a Roman urn, and leave it two days in the ſun; then place it in the oven or hole in the ground, of the depth of the pot, and thrice larger in circumference, with a quick fire round and over it, that burns out of itſelf. A cement runs from the ant-eggs in the burning, which ſpreads through the whole, and binds the matter to a ſurpriſing firmneſs, giving it a jet black colour, which never changes. *Potters.*

The ſmiths, who are ingenious, and work hard, melt iron from the ore, in holes dug upon riſing ground, in proportion to the intended quantity. The hole is heated properly before the ore is put in, when a large fire is made and kept up till the iron melts, and runs through a *Smiths.*

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narrow channel into another hole, or receiver, dug upon the descent, at the distance of a foot and a half.

The cold iron is broke into pieces with stones, and heated again in other fires, when wanted for use. The smiths have no hammer, but a roundish stone, with which they beat and shape the iron into weapons, upon the hardest flat stone, and upon this grind and polish in the neatest manner. Their work is valuable for beauty and service.

The copper ore is melted in the same manner; and the shaping and polishing of copper trinkets is equally beautiful and surprising.

Musical instruments. Vocal and instrumental music are in great esteem among Hottentots; the musical instruments are the grand and lesser gom-gom, the potdrum, and pipe. The lesser gom-gom is a bow made of iron or olive-wood, strung with twisted sheeps guts or sinews, with the barrel of a split quill fixed at one end, through which the string runs: the quill is put to the mouth of the performer, whose various modulations of breath direct the different notes of the gom-gom. The grand gom-gom is made by running the string through two holes near the brim of a cocoa-nut, prepared and sawed in the manner of a hanging cup, with the mouth upwards. The performer on this instrument varies the sound by moving the shell nearer or farther from the quill, kept close to his mouth. There is a softness, with charms for a delicate ear, according to our author, in a concert of three or four gom-goms, played by skilful performers; who likewise believes the grand gom-gom worthy of the study of the most judicious European musician. The pipe is an instrument played upon by the chiefs in time of battle. The potdrum, resembling a Roman urn, is covered on the top with a smooth dressed sheep skin, tightly braced on with sinews and sheeps guts, like a kettle-drum. This instrument is peculiar to the ladies, who, with their fingers, play but one tune upon it of a few notes [q].

Vocal music. The vocal music consists of the monosyllable *ho*, sung by both sexes, on religious ceremonies, in concert with the gom-goms.

Manner of dancing. On the making of sam-sam, or *peace*, and other public rejoicings, the inhabitants of a kraal dance in turns; and when all have danced, the ceremony breaks up. The men and women dance in couples together, two couples at a time; they begin face to face, at the distance of ten

[q] Ibid. 273, & seq.

paces

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paces from each other, ſometimes meeting, and at others back to back, and never take hold of each other's hands. Every dance takes up an hour: both ſexes are ſurpriſingly active, cutting clean and high capers. During the dance, the women keep their heads in their boſoms in a manner, and their eyes fixed on the ground [r].

No money amongſt Hottentots.

The Hottentots have no money, nor idea of the utility or value of coin, ſome few excepted, who are neighbours to, and by converſation with the Dutch, have ſome notion of the ſmall pieces; but which, as ſoon as poſſeſſed of, they part with for other commodities. Cattle are the riches, and the chief and capital produce of the country; and barter is the eſtabliſhed method of traffick.

Trade.

Theſe people receive in exchange for cattle, elephants teeth, oſtrich eggs, ſkins of wild beaſts, horſes, and aſſes, wine, brandy, tobacco and pipes, dacha, beads, fiſh-hooks, ſmall looking-glaſſes, knives, iron, bits of poliſhed glaſs, braſs and copper, braſs ear-rings, and ſometimes kanna root. The Europeans, who are more expert in finding, make a great advantage of this root, extremely ſcarce, and highly valued; ornamental and rich manufactures for apparel, and uſeful furniture, are in no eſteem, and of no value amongſt Hottentots.

They trade in the moſt friendly and upright manner; the proportion obſerved by the way of price, in exchanging cattle for European effects, riſes and falls amongſt them, as in other countries, according to the ſcarcity or plenty, greater or leſſer demand of commodities. Their deareſt rate is a cheapneſs almoſt incredible; one pound of tobacco purchaſes a fat ox; half a pound, a large ſheep; and a quarter of a pound a fat lamb.

The Hottentots, who formerly brought droves of cattle to market at the Cape, being under other regulations, bring none now, but what are preſents to the governor. They are believed by the Dutch to have another market for their elephants teeth, and to trade with the people of Terra do Natal, and the Moſambic Portugueſe; their own conſumption in ivory rings, and the ſmall quantity brought to the Dutch by neighbouring Hottentots only, bearing no proportion to the vaſt number of elephants killed annually.

The Dutch travel with a Hottentot attendant; and the natives, though no inſtance has been known of an European's being murdered, are obliged, if an European dies

[r] Ibid. p. 281, & ſeq.

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amongst them, for the safety of the travellers, to give a satisfactory account, that his death was natural.

Religion. The great secrecy with which the Hottentots conceal their religious opinions and ceremonies from Europeans, and the many superficial and contradictory accounts, published before the histories of Saar, Tachart, and Kolben, rendered their faith uncertain. They acknowlege, and firmly believe, that there is a God, almighty, whom they call Gounja-gounja, or Gounja-tinquoa, or *God of gods, the Governor of the world*, endued with unsearchable attributes and perfections, who made heaven and earth, the sun, and every thing in them; who, dwelling far above the moon, causes thunder and rain, and provides food for bodily sustenance, and skins of beasts for apparel [s].

Notwithstanding this belief of the most intelligent Hottentots, who celebrate every signal event of life with previous offerings and solemnities, there is no festival or institution of worship amongst them directly regarding the true God.

The moon, named Gounja, an inferior and visible god, the subject and representative of the high and invisible, is constantly adored and invoked at the full and change. Milk and flesh are offered to this deity, and the whole night is spent in alternate prostrations, dancing, singing, and loud exclamations of Muffoke atze, or *I salute you, you are welcome*; and Choraquâ kakâ choriounquâ, or *Grant us fodder enough for our cattle, and milk in abundance.*

They adore likewise, and honour with the highest veneration, a small winged insect, with two horns, peculiar to Hottentot countries, with a green back and belly, speckled with red and white. Upon the arrival of this animal, which is regarded as the lord of the universe, the whole kraal is covered with buchu; two fat sheep are killed in thanksgiving; and the inhabitants, believing all past offences purged, and buried in oblivion, resolve, as a new people, on a reform of life, believing the immortality of the soul. They offer prayers and praises to good persons deceased, leaving, in the removal of kraals, for the quiet of departed spirits, their huts standing, and their furniture and apparel untouched, in the persuasion of their return to the places where they died, and that they are never troublesome to the kraal, unless their property is stolen or carried off.

The person of either sex, on whom this insect accidentally settles, is ever afterwards distinguished and respected as sacred, and a favourite of this deity; the neighbours

[s] Ibid. p. 92, 94, & seq.

glory,

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glory, and proclaim the honour done to the kraal; the fatteſt ox is killed, as a thankſgiving offering; and the favourite, to whom the entrails are preſented, is obliged to wear about his neck the caul, twiſted like a rope, and powdered with buchu, till it rots off, and to anoint his body with the fat only of that ox till conſumed.

Theſe people, who perpetuate a religious veneration of their ſacred and renowned companions, by conſecrating woods, mountains, fields, and rivers, to their memory, who ſtop, and, veiling their heads, contemplate, in theſe places, the virtues, and implore for themſelves and cattle the protection of departed ſpirits, worſhip an evil deity, the father of miſchief, called Touquon, an inferior and crabbed captain, in their opinion, miſchievouſly reſtleſs in regard to Hottentots, the ſource of plagues, and author of witchcraft, arbitrary in declaring offences, and, on that account honoured of Hottentots, who, being under continual apprehenſion of his deſigns, yet ignorant of having offended, ſacrifice a fat ox or ſheep, believing him appeaſed and reconciled, when they have regaled themſelves with the fleſh, and anointed their bodies with the fat of the ſheep or ſlain ox.

Another cuſtom of ſprinkling their bodies with ſea or river water, when they intend to paſs or enter either, is punctually obſerved and performed, with great compoſure of mind, by Hottentots, who have adapted, ſince the arrival of the Dutch, and appropriated the term anderſmaken, or *alter for the better*, to all religious ceremonies and acts; and the Dutch word anderſmaken is the only anſwer given by Hotenttots to European enquirers into the origin and ſenſe of their inſtitutions. Wrapped in ſullen ſilence, and deaf to reaſon on the important point of religion, they remain the moſt obſtinate, prejudiced, and infatuated people, knowing but little of God, and having leſs inclination to ſerve him. The moſt ſenſible amongſt them ſay, he curſed their firſt parents, who had grievouſly ſinned and offended, and all their poſterity. Theſe, according to another tradition which prevails, and is carefully preſerved throughout the different nations, were ſent by God himſelf, and came into their country through a window; that the man's name was Nôh, and the woman's Hingnôh, who taught their deſcendants to do many things, and keep cattle.

Dutch word uſed by Hottentots.

Relations and friends ſurround the dying Hottentots, clapping their hands, crying, ſcreaming, and roaring in a hideous manner. The corpſe of the deceaſed is immediately wrapped in a kroſſe, and, within ſix hours, buried in a hole, made by a wild beaſt, in the ground, or in

Funeral ceremonies.

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in a cleft of a rock. The men and women of the kraal aſſemble, and ſquat in different circles, crying out and repeating, bo, bo, bo, or *father*, in a mournful ſtrain. When the corpſe is brought out through the ſide of the hut, which is always uncovered in funeral ſolemnities, the captain of the kraal, or the relations, name the bearers, who carry the deceaſed in their arms, and both circles riſing, the men and the women, making grimaces, clapping hands, diſtorting their bodies, and inceſſantly repeating bo, bo, bo, march in two bodies, and attend the corpſe to the grave; which is immediately filled up, after the corpſe is laid down, with the mould of ant-hills, ſtones, and pieces of wood.

The grave being filled, the company returns to the kraal, and again ſquat down; both circles again exclaim bo, bo, bo, bororo rhodo atſcha, frequently calling the deceaſed by his name, and an hour is conſumed in ſtartings, grimaces, diſtorted poſtures, and clapping of hands. At length ſilence being proclaimed, two ancients, friends to the deceaſed, piſs upon the company, who receive the urine with great veneration. The ancients afterwards enter the hut by the door, and, each taking a handful of aſhes, return by the paſſage opened for the corpſe, and ſtrew it upon the company. After this ceremony, the circles riſe and retire.

At funerals of perſons of rank or eſteem in the kraal, the lamentations continue ſeven or eight days. The Hottentots piſs by way of ceremony, and ſcatter aſhes, to remind the company of their future ſtate; who, without diſtinction of age or wealth, muſt all be reduced to duſt and aſhes.

The cauls of ſheep, killed at anderſmakens, and powdered with buchu, are worn as mourning, by the heirs and relations of rich Hottentots, till they rot off, however offenſive; and the poor mourn their deceaſed friends by ſhaving part of their heads, which they cover with buchu.

SECT. II.

Diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope by the Europeans; and the Settlement of the Dutch.

War between the Hottentots and Dutch.

THE Gunjeman or Goringhaiquan nation, who had given the Dutch poſſeſſion of the Cape, upon their diviſion of the lands for tillage, and erection of buildings for their dwellings and defence, grew jealous of future encroachments; and having called the neighbouring nations

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tions to their aſſiſtance, made war againſt the Dutch, who had refuſed to deſiſt. The Dutch gained many victories during the war, which the Hottentots ſupported with great reſolution; but, diſmayed by the vaſt effuſion of blood, the Gunjemans and confederates ſued for peace, and a ſolemn convention was entered into by both parties, whereby the firſt bargain was confirmed, and the unoccupied lands of all the confederates were ſurrendered and aſſigned to the Dutch, with this ſalvo to the confederacy, that the whole ſhould be at liberty to ſettle on what ground, and in what part of the country, that ſhould be found unemployed. Moſt of the Hottentot nations came into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the Dutch againſt all enemies whatever; which, though made by words only, has ſubſiſted ever ſince, and been religiouſly obſerved on both ſides; the Dutch governors continuing, as inſtructed, to cultivate all poſſible friendſhip with their allies, and the Hottentot chiefs waiting on the governors with preſents for the renewal of peaec.

Hottentots make war, and diſtreſs the Dutch.

A furious war broke out in 1659, between the proprietors of the Cape, or Goringhaiquan nation, aſſiſted by the Gorachoquan, and the Dutch, who were greatly annoyed and diſtreſſed; the Hottentots making their attacks in foggy and rainy weather, which hindered the effect of fire-arms. A Hottentot named Doman by the Dutch, who had lived four or five years at Batavia, and ſome time at the Cape, where he dreſſed in the European manner, having returned to his countrymen, perfectly inſtructed in European cuſtoms, appeared with a companion, whoſe name was Garabinga, or *Flat Noſe*, the moſt animating, reſolute, and courageous amongſt the Hottentots. The many contrivances and attempts to ſurpriſe them proved vain and ineffectual; Doman eſcaped by ſwimming croſs a river, after a ſmart engagement, which happened between five Hottentots, and an equal number of Europeans; but Eycamma being wounded, and his leg broke, was made priſoner. This Hottentot, to whom the utmoſt civility had been ſhewn, and the greateſt care taken of his wounds, anſwered the Dutch in great wrath, who aſked the motives of the war, "Who deſired you, Dutchmen, to grub up our lands, and ſow corn in our paſtures? By what right do you ſeize the inheritance of our fathers, our country that has belonged to us time immemorial? You, who were permitted to land only for your refreſhment in your neceſſity, diſpoſe of our property, as ſovereigns, and daily prohibit our approach to the lands you think

Doman and Garabinga.

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think proper: would you suffer the like treatment in your own country?" The Dutch, by advice of Eycamma, who just before his death, had declared himself a private person, sent four deputies to propose a conference, and to endeavour to bring the chief to the fort; but the chief, whose name was Gogosoa, an extremely corpulent man, according to an account published in 1662, and a hundred years old, who had two sons, Osinhaicanna and Otegnoa, rejected the proposal, and the war was vigorously carried on for a year, when a most fortunate accident put an end to the slaughter and ravage made by the Hottentots[a].

Cancemoua.

Camcemoua, called Horri by the Dutch, a man of understanding, who spoke Flemish, and a little English, which he had learned at Bantam, and made his escape from Rabbit Island, where he had been three months confined: this Hottentot unexpectedly arrived with Chore, the Gorachouquan chief, and a hundred attendants, who presenting the Dutch with thirteen fat cattle, as a pledge and in token of friendship, granted the lands within three leagues round the Cape, upon condition they should not advance nor penetrate farther. The Dutch, who ardently wished for peace, accepted and received the terms with the greatest joy. As soon as the agreement was published, three or four hundred Hottentots ran to the fort; the

Gogosoa.

Goringhaiquan nation following the example, Gogosoa came in person at their head, and demanded to be included in the treaty. The Hottentots were liberally entertained, and their chiefs returned home, well satisfied with their entertainment and presents.

Brigoudis and Hassaquan nations.

The same author, in his account of the Hottentot nations, of which there is no mention in Kolben, takes notice of the Brigoudis, a powerful and rich people in cattle, known to the Dutch only by the report of the Namaquans; and of the Hassaquan nation, whose country has never been entered by Europeans; he says that three only had been seen, who came upon the coast with the Chainouquan chief to traffic in cattle. These people, like other Hottentots, are shepherds, but given to agriculture, and expert in taking lions, which they afterwards are said to tame, and train to war, that they may be let loose upon the enemy in the heat of battle.

Cape of Good Hope first discovered by Dias.

The Cape of Good Hope, the boundary of the East and West Indies, resembling a peninsula, the point and sides being washed by the sea, the longest, the most danger-

[a] La Croix, vol. iv. p. 25.

ous,

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ous, and most celebrated in the universe, was first discovered and named in 1493, Cabo dos Tormentos, or the *Stormy Cape*, by the admiral Bartholomew Dias, in the reign of John II. king of Portugal. But this name was changed into that of Good Hope, by the king's saying, when made acquainted with the discovery, that there were now good hopes of future prosperous voyages to East India.

Admiral Dias, who never landed, pleased the king and kingdom with his observations on the geography, bays, and anchorings of the Cape; and Vasco de Gama, his successor in command of the next East India fleet, confirmed the observations of Dias. Admiral Rio d'Infante, who went ashore in his voyage to India, in 1498, enlarged, at his return, the account already given, by pointing out the advantages the Cape might furnish to the trade of Portugal. Emanuel, who had ascended the throne, pleased with the report of his discoveries, ordered the immediate departure of a fleet, with express command to attempt a settlement; but the enterprize failed, the courage of the fleet not being proof against the reports received in the way, that the natives were cannibals; and the expedition ended in taking in water at Robin Island near the Cape. In this island is a cave, wherein the Portuguese took shelter in the tempestuous season, known at present by the name of Portugal. Francisco d'Almeida, viceroy of Brasil, in his return to Europe by the Cape, some time afterwards, sent a party on shore to negociate for provisions: the party was driven back to the ships. He himself, who was prevailed upon, though seventy years of age, to head a reinforcement, was shot through the throat with a poisoned arrow, and seventy-five men were killed upon the spot, the remainder fled to the ships, and the fleet weighed anchor immediately. The Portuguese are said to have revenged this disgrace in a severe and extraordinary manner; they fastened two long ropes round the mouth of a large brass cannon, which they loaded with balls, and landed as a present to the Hottentots, who being naturally fond of brass, were extremely satisfied, and admiring the weight of their favourite metal, ran in transport to seize the ropes, with which they had been instructed to draw off the cannon; the Hottentots were extended in two lines all the length of the ropes, and full in the range of the shot, when the cannon was suddenly discharged, and made a most terrible slaughter. Those who escaped fled in the wildest confusion, and the Portu-

D'Almeida lands and is slain.

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Portugueſe, who in this manner took their leave of the Cape, were left to to embark at their leiſure.

The Cape frequented by the Dutch.

There are no accounts of the Europeans having frequented the Cape from this time, till the Dutch company of merchant adventurers, then called the Far Trading, and ſince the Eaſt India company, in 1600, touched, and began to trade at the Cape for proviſions, and erected a fort, whoſe remains are yet to be ſeen, to protect themſelves and their purchaſes; but, however acquainted with the advantages, they made no other uſe of the Cape than providing every captain of a ſhip bound for India with a ſquare ſtone, on which the ſhip's, the captain's, and the names of the principal officers, with the day of their departure from the Cape, were ordered to be cut, and buried in a particular place near the fort, with a tin box underneath, containing letters, to be conveyed to Europe by the firſt ſhip that touched at the Cape in her return from India. In 1650, Van Riebeck, ſurgeon of a ſhip that put into the Cape for the uſual purpoſes, obſerving the richneſs of the ſoil, the great plenty of cattle, diſpoſition of the natives, and importance of the ſituation and harbour, judged a ſettlement adviſeable, to facilitate, improve, and ſecure the Eaſt India trade.

A fleet ſent by the Dutch to make a ſettlement.

Van Riebeck, at his return, laid before the directors what he had digeſted for the purpoſe; who reſolved on a ſettlement, and immediately ordered four ſhips to be properly equipped for ſuch an expedition. Van Riebeck was immediately appointed admiral and governor in chief on his arrival at the Cape, with full power to eſtabliſh a ſettlement, in what manner he ſhould judge expedient.

He arrived ſafe at the Cape, and no ſooner propoſed than concluded a treaty. The natives, charmed with the braſs toys, beads, tobacco, and brandy, which he preſented to them, ſtipulated and agreed that the Dutch ſhould have full liberty to ſettle in the valley of Table-Hill, upon the delivery of a quantity of thoſe toys and commodities, amounting in value to fifty thouſand guilders. This article was performed without delay, and the Dutch took immediate poſſeſſion of the Cape, which was ſurrendered to them with great ſolemnity. Van Riebeck erected a ſquare fort, containing lodgings, warehouſes, and an hoſpital for the ſick, and raiſed outworks and batteries to ſecure the ſettlements from all attacks.

The company, informed of their ſucceſs, publiſhed placards for the encouragement of ſettlers: the conditions being

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being advantageous, numbers embarked for the Cape, and the ſettlement ſoon made a conſiderable figure, continually extending new colonies along the coaſt, as it increaſed in number, by new ſettlers arriving from Europe; and there are at preſent four principal colonies. The firſt is at the Cape, where are the great forts and capital city, called the Cape; the ſecond is called the Hellenbogiſh; the third, the Drakenſtein; and the fourth, the Waveriſh. The whole tract of land, called Terra do Natal, has been ſince purchaſed, for a future increaſe, by the company, for fifty thouſand guilders, to be paid in toys and other commodities. By this addition the province is greatly extended, and the government become conſiderable.

The Cape colony.

The Dutch ſoon enlarged their quarters beyond the valley of Table Hill, purchaſed great numbers of cattle from the Hottentots, and erected a wooden fort near the Salt river; a continual guard was appointed to prevent ſtrays or intermixture with the Hottentot herds, and a guard-houſe was appointed for entertaining a hundred and ninety horſemen, to be ready to mount in purſuit of run-away cattle, and to oppoſe any hoſtile attempt on the part of the Hottentots. The fort became uſeleſs and ſoon decayed, when the colony extended beyond the Salt river; part of the guard-houſe ſtill remains, and is converted into a priſon for criminals in the Indian ſettlements.

Governor Simon Vander Stel attempted, for the ſecurity of ſhipping, a canal, four German miles long, to be cut from the Salt river to the bay Falſo, and a great progreſs was made in that undertaking; but the governor finding that both monſoons muſt choak it with ſand, the works were diſcontinued, and the remains are now called the New Salt River.

The fortreſs, called Good Hope, and the Cape Town, are ſituated in the Table Valley: the fort built by Van Riebeck ſtood a conſiderable time in the government of Bax, when this governor judging a new caſtle and ſtronger garriſon neceſſary for their defence, and that the old warehouſes were too ſmall for the growing trade, tranſmitted to the directors in Europe the ſtate of the Cape; who approving, the repreſentation of and propoſal for forti ying it, diſpatched full powers for erecting a new fort, in ſuch place and model as Bax ſhould judge expedient. Bax, in three years, finiſhed a ſpacious, commodious, and ſtrong fortreſs; governor Adrian Vander Stel made ſeveral additions to it, and it is at preſent an exceeding ſtrong and ſtately

New caſtle built by Bax.

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ſtately building, of large compaſs, provided with neceſſary accommodations for a numerous garriſon, completely covering the harbour, and of great defence towards the land: the governor and chief officers have magnificent apartments, and the company's warehouſes are large, handſome, and commodious.

Cape Town. Cape Town is large and regularly built, with ſpacious ſtreets, and contains upwards of two hundred houſes. Many are ſtately and magnificent, with large courts before, and gardens behind; built with ſtone, and plentifully ſupplied with water by a ſtream that falls from Table Hill, which turning a mill at the foot of the hill, runs through large pipes into a ſquare, and from thence, between the town and fortreſs, into the ſea. There is a row of houſes on the river, with beautiful gardens, vineyards, and corn-fields, farmed by the chief burgomaſters, at fifteen hundred florins a year, payable to the town treaſury. Building is greatly encouraged contiguous to the town, and in the country; the company gives gratis ſufficient land for houſe, court-yard, out-houſes, and gardens. All houſes are charged with a ground-rent proportioned to their value. Officers are appointed with ſalaries to inſpect chimneys, in order to prevent fire: neglect of duty is ſeverely puniſhed, and ſailors and Hottentots are prohibited ſmoaking in the ſtreets.

Government of the town and colony. The preſent government of Cape Town and this extended ſettlement, ſtand upon eight eſtabliſhments, inſtituted by Riebeck and ſucceeding governors: the grand council, court of juſtice, petty court, marriage court, orphan chamber, and eccleſiaſtical council, a common council, and board of militia.

Grand council. The grand council conſiſts of the governor, who is preſident, with a double vote, and eight principal officers in the company's ſervice. This college of policy is the company's repreſentative, and the intereſt of the ſettlement is their province. They direct trade and navigation, make war and peace with the Hottentots, and correſpond with the directors in Holland, and the governors of Batavia and Ceylon. Regiſters of tranſactions, with all letters and copies of diſpatches, are kept the by ſecretary.

Court of juſtice. The court of juſtice, generally compoſed of the members of the grand council, hear and determine all civil and criminal cauſes of moment. Where one party is ſervant to the company, to avoid partiality, three regent burgomaſters, magiſtrates at the Cape, have ſeats and aſſiſt the court; theſe are annually choſen amongſt the inhabitants

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inhabitants not in the service. Appeals lie in the first instance to the court at Batavia, and from thence to the supreme court in Holland, the last resource. Appellants are obliged to deposit one hundred florins, to be lodged where directed by the court, till final judgment is obtained; which is then paid or returned, as the judgment is affirmed or reversed.

Petty court. The petty court, at present dependent on the court of justice, takes cognizance of breaches of the peace, trespasses, and small debts, and is composed of a member of the grand council, who presides, and reports the proceedings to the council, of three burghers, and four immediate servants to the company. A burgher is vice-president, and the clerk of the court one of the servants. The president and members are chosen biennially by the grand council, two or three of the sitting members being always re-chosen for the instruction of the new-elected in the practice of, and proceedings before the court. Copies of all proceedings, sentences, and decrees of this and the court of justice, are transmitted by the grand council to Holland.

Marriage court. The marriage court inspects the legality before celebration of marriage-contracts, and issues warrants to the pastors, authorising the publication of banns. This court is generally held at the castle. Previous to any examination in this court, the parties are obliged to a personal joint appearance to ask the consent of the governor; who gives to the man his mandate to the court, directing proper enquiries to be made concerning the parties, and signifying therein his conditional assent, provided the court finds no cause to the contrary.

Orphan court. Seven persons administer the affairs and interests of the court of orphans, the vice-president of the grand council presiding in this chamber; three of the company's servants, and three burghers are chosen biennally into this trust. A burgher is generally vice-president; the secretary, who takes the minutes of the proceedings, and registers the transactions, is always in the company's service, with a salary and perquisites. No orphan can marry at the Cape under the age of twenty-five years without the consent of this chamber.

Ecclesiastical court. The ecclesiastical council, instituted for the government of the reformed churches at the Cape, is composed of the pastors, elders, and overseers of the poor, in each parish, who finally decree the temporal and spiritual concerns of the three churches; and the offices and ceremonies in the

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worſhip of God are altered, diminiſhed, and augmented by the decrees of this council. The ſurplus of collections is applied to charitable uſes, repairs of the church, and maintenance of ſchools. The debates and reſolutions of this council are regiſtered, and at all times may be peruſed by any perſons. There are occaſionally church councils held in each pariſh: theſe councils conſiſt of a conſiderable pariſhioner, the paſtor, elders, and overſeers of the pariſh. Half of the members are burghers, half ſervants to the company, and the paſtor is always reckoned one of the laſt.

Court of common council. Upon the great increaſe of the colony by French refugees, governor Simon Vander Stel eſtabliſhed a court of common council in each colony, to be choſen biennally by the grand council, out of liſts to be prepared and preſented by the burghers. This council has no authority at Cape Town, the whole buſineſs being tranſacted by the civil courts above mentioned. Petitions are indeed preſented by them in behalf of, and they collect the taxes laid upon, the burghers, by the grand council. The three regent burghers, who have ſeats in the council of juſtice, are magiſtrates of weight and reſpect; and the common council is of great authority in the courts of other colonies: the landroſt, or lieutenant of each colony, preſides in the aſſemblies wherein debts, treſpaſſes, and all matters not exceeding one hundred and fifty florins, are heard and determined: moſt crimes are puniſhed by the councils in whoſe juriſdiction they were committed.

Horſe and foot militia inſtituted. Simon Vander Stel, upon the arrival of the refugees, inſtituted a horſe and foot militia; and for their government erected two boards, each with two commiſſioners and ſecretary. A member of the grand council preſides at the board for and in Cape Town. The other members are the principal military officers of the Cape colony. The landroſt of Stellenboſh is preſident of this board, and the other members are the principal officers of the united militia of Stellenboſh and Drakenſtein colonies. The militia is employed in the purſuit of run-away ſlaves, or on hoſtile appearances from the Hottentots, and annually muſtered.

Table Hill. The three hills which form the Table Valley are called the Table Hill, Lion Hill, and Wind or Devil's Hill. The Table Hill, called by the Portugueſe Taboa do Cabo, or the Cape Table, bearing ſouth from the center of the valley, and extending ſomething to ſouth-weſt, is one thouſand eight hundred and fifty-ſeven feet high: on the top

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top are several springs of water, clear as crystal, and of a delightful taste. The summit, resembling the leaf of a table, appears at a distance level and smooth, but is uneven and craggy. In the middle is a large chasm, or rent, observed to encrease in rainy seasons, and believed to have been made by the violent currents from the top, which wash down great quantities of earth. Stately trees grow in this chasm; and the hill, in appearance rough and barren, is extremely fruitful. There are two gardens, called Paradise and Hell, between which a silver mine was discovered; but the ore transported to Holland not yielding sufficient silver to answer the expence of working, the mine was closed and neglected. A white cloud hovers over this hill during the dry season, from September to March, and frequently in other months: from this cloud issue the south-east winds with incredible fury, shattering houses, endangering shipping, and greatly damaging the fruits of the earth. Upon discovering this cloud, the sailors instantly call out, "The Table's covered, prepare for the storm," and work with as much activity as if it was begun.

Lion Hill. The Lion Hill, contiguous to the sea, extending northward, and bearing west from the center of the valley, is separated from the Table Hill by a small chasm, called Kloof by the Dutch. In this Kloof two centinels are placed, to give notice when ships make into the harbour: the smallest vessel may be discovered from the top of this steep hill, at the distance of twelve leagues. Upon the discovery of a sail the centinel in the head makes a signal to his comrade to set out immediately and inform the officers: if more appear, the flag is dropped, and a gun fired for every sail, which is accordingly reported. The proper officers are always prepared by this method to receive the approaching vessels [b].

The republic or prince's flag is always hoisted to Dutch ships on their voyage to India, and two flags with devices to all ships returning to Holland. These flags for returning ships are annually changed by the directors in Holland, and sent to the Cape, with exact copies drawn upon paper for the governor general of Batavia, who distributes them to the commanders of returning ships. These commanders are to conclude, in case the devices at the Cape

[b] La Croix, vol. iv. p 86. Kolben, vol. ii. p. 12. vide & Ramus. vel Viagii, vol. i. third edit. p. 119, & seq. Davity, Dapper, & al. plur.

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disagree with their copies, or if no flag should appear, that the Cape is possessed by an enemy, to steer away immediately, and make the best of their way to Holland. The prince's flag is hoisted, and a gun fired, at Robin Eylan, at the mouth of the harbour, for every ship sailing by, or standing in.

Not far from the Kloof is a large tract of fine meadows, and another beyond the hill, at present common pastures for the neighbouring cattle, but capable of great improvement, the the soil being extremely rich, and well supplied with water.

Simon Vander Stel erected upon a creek at the foot of this hill a small fort of four guns, to prevent clandestine trade, and for the better security of the harbour against enemies; who, under cover of the fogs, which are frequent in the months of June and July, might land in small boats undiscovered. Adrian Vander Stel, his son and successor, judging this precaution unnecessary, the guns were remanded to the fortress, and the fort fell to decay.

Wind hill. The Wind Hill, so named in wills, conveyances, and records, and vulgarly called Devil's Hill, extending, like the Lion Hill, to the sea, is lower and narrower than the Table or Lion Hill, abounds in excellent pastures, with an extensive view over seats, gardens, and vineyards, as far as the Salt River, Tyger Hills, and adjacent deserts [c].

Round Bush and Newland Gardens. There are several beautiful seats, vineyards, and gardens, on every side of Table Hill, which surpasses all in number and delicacy of springs. Round Bush and Newland Gardens belong to the company; a magnificent pleasure-house for the governor was erected in the first, at the company's expence; both are well watered, and yield a considerable revenue. Most sorts of European, Persian, and vines from other countries, the Japan apple, with the most esteemed fruits, have been transplanted into these gardens, which the Cape soil and climate bring to the highest perfection. Between these gardens is an estate, called, from its fertility, Bread and Wine; and a brew-house in the neighbourhood, well supplied with water, erected by Jacob Lonwen, who was transported with his family, at the company's expence, to introduce the Deventer method of brewing. The several currents of springs on Salt River side, uniting at the bottom of the hill, run in a strong stream into that river.

[c] La Croix, vol. iv. p. 37. Kolben, vol. ii. p. 19. Ramus. & al. *supra citat.*

Near

Near this hill ſtands a delightful ſeat erected by Simon Vander Stel, called Conſtantia, in honour of his lady's name, commanding the moſt extenſive proſpect over this improved country and Table Bay. In the way to Conſtantia is a rough ſtony road, leading over high and craggy mountains to Wood Bay: this wood is never cut down but in times of neceſſity; wood being ſcarce and valuable at the Cape. The company had ſeveral ſettlements in this country for raiſing cattle, which, being too expenſive, were all ſold; and all their demands have been ſupplied ever ſince by four licenſed ſlaughter-houſes. In this quarter is a large tract of land, three days journey round, which governor Vander Stel had appropriated to himſelf and family, and erected a magnificent ſeat and elegant ſtabling. *Conſtantia built by Simon Vander Stel.*

The adjacent hills called Tyger Hills, from a coloured appearance, ſpotted like the ſkins of thoſe animals, are the moſt fertile about the Cape; the lands are all cultivated, excepting one ſmall tract, having a ſpring, which, in dry ſeaſons, ſupplies with water the neighbouring planters, and therefore not granted out by the company. Theſe hills, formerly the haunts of deer, are ſaid to owe their fertility to the droppings of thoſe animals; and it is remarkable that all places frequented by deer ſurpaſs all others in fertility. There are twenty-two ſeats and eſtates, divided into corn-fields, vineyards, gardens, and meadow grounds, on theſe hills. A ſettler is eſteemed but in middling circumſtances, whoſe ſtock conſiſts of no more than ſix hundred ſheep and one hundred large cattle; to be denominated conſiderable requires a ſtock of one thouſand ſheep, and two or three hundred large cattle; and there are ſettlers who are poſſeſſed of a thouſand ſheep and a thouſand large cattle. The Cape ſettlement was ſupplied in the beginning with horſes from Perſia, whoſe breed is extremely increaſed, and the price greatly reduced, three beautiful ſtrong horſes being ſold at an auction for eighteen Dutch ſchellings. The fartheſt of theſe hills, which are eight leagues in circumference, is four leagues diſtant from the Cape. *Tyger hills.*

The Cow Hill, about ſix leagues from the Cape, beyond the Tyger Hills, was next cultivated. The ſoil is poor, and the inhabitants but few. *Cow hill.*

The Blue Mountain, ſo called from a bluiſh appearance at a diſtance, is about eight leagues from the Cape, and was next ſettled. The ſoil is equally fertile with thoſe of the Tyger Hills, but, through ſcarcity of water, thinly inhabited. Elephants and deer furniſh the ſettlers with wholeſome *Blue mountain.*

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and delicious provisions, and they gain considerably by their hides and skins.

In the year 1712 this colony, divided from Stellenbosh settlement by a large desert, bordering on Cape Town, was extended by the grand council as far as Mushellbank River, a conflux only of rain waters, forming a stream by the currents of adjacent mountains uniting in this channel, which run into Salt Water River, and thence into the sea.

Salt Water river. The source of this river, which receives several rivulets, and waters in its course many gardens and vineyards, particularly Round Bush garden, belonging to the company, is on the summit of Table Hill: the water is clear and wholsome, and brackish only by the mixture of the sea-water at high tides, which gives it the name of Salt-Water River.

Cape waters excellent. The waters about the Cape are esteemed beneficial in every case; European physicians recommend them preferably to wine, brandy, and all strong liquors; and their credit is so high at the court of Denmark, where they are esteemed the brightest, sweetest, and most wholsome in the world, that every Danish royal ship, returning to Europe, is ordered to touch at the Cape for a large cask of spring water for his Danish majesty.

Beyond the Stone Hills are several springs that water the adjacent country. In one of these hills is a stone quarry, discovered by Vander Stel, little inferior to marble.

Stellenbosh colony settled by Simon Vander Stel. Stellenbosh colony, so called from Bosh, or Bush, and Stel, the name of the governor, was settled in the time and by the direction of Simon Vander Stel. The Dutch called this colony the Wild Forest, whilst covered with shrubs and bushes. In the principal valley, named Stellenbosh, stood a beautiful church, and council-house, which were destroyed in 1710 by an accidental fire: the village was handsomely rebuilt in four years, but the church and council-house remain in ruins.

There are large barren sandy tracts between the Cape and this colony, whose four divisions are named Stellenbosh, Mottergate, Hottentot Holland, and Bottelary.

On the Stellenbosh head or eminence, in the road between the two colonies, were formerly planted a cannon and flag-staff, to give notice of European or hostile approaches; but the Dutch soon becoming too populous and strong for any hostile attempts, the cannon was carried to the fortress.

False Bay. False Bay is formed by a chain of mountains. These on the east side are called Hottentot Holland: one only, on the

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the weſt ſide, contiguous to Stone Hill, has obtained the name Norwegen, from its extending ſix leagues in the ſea, and running to a point, like the mountains on the coaſt of Norway. Thoſe of Hottentot Holland are much higher, and, like the Table Hill, covered with a white cloud, during the reign of the ſouth-eaſt winds: the mountain terminating the bay, for its appearance at ſea in the manner of a lip hanging over the chin, is denominated Hang-lips. This bay is ten leagues in circumference, and called Falſo, from a falſe report that the bottom was covered with ſtones, and no ſafe lodgment for anchors. The bay was inſpected, and the bottom tried in 1702, by order of the governor Lewis Van Aſſenburgh, when the ground was found to be no where ſtony. No ſhip can ride with ſafety in this bay, during the high ſouth-eaſt winds; many, moored with the ſtrongeſt cables, having been torn from their anchors, ſtranded, and daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks. The bay abounds in various kinds of exquiſite fiſh, and there is great ſtore at the mouths of Stellenboſh and Hottentot Holland rivers; but the greateſt quantity is taken at the Fiſh Huik, under the rock named Hang-lips. The colonies might, with good management, be ſupplied by this fiſhery alone.

Hang-lips mountain.

In November 1710, a terrible hurricane at ſouth-eaſt, blew the waters in floods up the country; ſeveral thouſand buſhels of fiſh remained on the land, on the retreat of the waters, and the ſea frequently overflows the Sea Cow Valley, leaving infinite numbers of fiſh behind. This valley was formerly the haunt of ſea-cows, amphibious animals of prodgious ſize, that made frequent ſallies up the country to feed on the graſs. None are ſeen now, they being driven to more diſtant retreats, by the great deſtruction made amongſt them by the firſt ſettlers, and other Europeans.

Hurricane in 1710.

Sea Cow Valley, why ſo called.

In the center of Hottentot Holland, ſo called from being the place appointed for raiſing the company's cattle, ſtands the Sheep Mountain, always cloathed with graſs, and covered with ſheep. The ſoil throughout this diviſion is extremely rich, yielding abundant returns for what is ſown or planted. In the infancy of the ſettlement, a ſquare fort was erected near the ſea-ſide, mounted with four cannon, to protect the ſettlement on that ſide from the Hottentots, and to give notice of any appearance of enemies in Bay Falſo; but the cannon have been carried to the fortreſs, nor are there any traces remaining of the fort or ruins.

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This diviſion was formely haunted by lions, tygers, leopards, elephants, the rhinoceros, and elk, which have been for the moſt part killed, or frighted into more remote quarters by fire and ball; no animal now appearing but deer and goats. Three rivers, whoſe ſprings are in the adjacent mountains, run through this diviſion; the ſource of the principal river is in the mountains contiguous to Turn-again Hill, ſo called from a way over it to Drakenſtein colony, which, to avoid precipices, appears, by ſeveral turnings, to lead back again. This river overflowing, in rainy ſeaſons, the adjacent lands, Adrian Vander Stel erected a large and deep baſon, capable of containing the rain-water deſcending from the mountains; the lands, by this contivance, were prevented from being overflowed in rainy ſeaſons, and ſupplied in dry with ſufficient water. This, and other rivers without names, whoſe ſprings are alſo in the mountains, having watered many improved eſtates in their courſe, diſcharge themſelves into Bay Falſo.

Soil fertile. Mottergate diviſion lies north of, and is ſurrounded by, Hottentot Holland and Stellenboſh diviſion and river. The ſoil is fertile, the houſes numerous, and the whole equally improved with other colonies. In rainy ſeaſons the lands are overflowed, and all intercourſe cut off amongſt the inhabitants, the Stellenboſh river and other rivulets becoming impaſſable. Bridges would effectually remedy the great inconvenience and loſſes ſuſtained by theſe floods; yet the inhabitants, who neither want money nor wood, could never be induced to think even of proper relief.

Stellenboſh diviſion. Stellenboſh diviſion, of equal circumference with Hottentot Holland, is fertile and pleaſant. The mountains which ſurround this diviſion are named Stellenboſh, and like the Table Mountain, are covered each with a white cloud, during the ſouth-eaſt winds. The cliffs of theſe mountains are woody; and various kinds of curious and uncommon herbs, and abundance of beautiful flowers, grow on the ſummits. The vallies abound in corn-lands, vineyards, and gardens; the houſes are well and commodiouſly built: and the whole diviſion is in the moſt flouriſhing condition. This river, riſing in Stellenboſh mountains, and rendered conſiderable by the ſtreams in Mottergate, runs at length into Bay Falſo. The bridge erected by the colony over this river being too narrow and dangerous, a more ſtately and commodious one was built at the expence of a private gentleman.

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Bottelary division, the most northern parts of Stellenbosh colony, borders on the south on Stellenbosh, on the east and west on Drakenstein, and on the north on Mushell Bank, and exceeds all the Cape colonies in producing great quantities of hay; the grass in other parts being consumed by cattle on the grounds. The mountain, formerly the haunt of wild horses, which separates this division from Drakenstein, is called the Horse Mountain; and Josſen Mountain, named from Jost the first inhabitant, is covered with pastures, fertile fields, vineyards, and gardens, even to the summit. *Bottelary division.*

Drakenstein settlement, so named in honour of baron Van Rheede, lord of Drakenstein in European Guelderland, was first begun in 1675, in the government of Simon Vander Stel. Many artificers and others, had planted several tracts of land, when the company, to whose protection the States General had recommended the French protestants who fled into Holland, transported, at their own expence, numbers of families to the Cape. These, upon lands being granted by the governors, settled in Drakenstein, where some inhabitants are of German, but most of refugee extraction. *Drakenstein settlement.* *Inhabited by refugees.*

Drakenstein is as extensive as the European Low Countries, bordering on the south on Turn-again Mountain, on the east on a long chain of mountains named Drakenstein, on the north on Saldanha Bay, and on the west on the Horse Mountain, which divides it from Bottelary. This large country has neither village nor council house; the burgomasters elected in this, repair to Stellenbosh for the dispatch of public business, and act in conjunction with the burgomasters of that colony: the church and water-mill are the only public buildings; and the church is very mean.

There are numbers of farms; and some, but few, sumptuous houses: the refugees, beginning the world under great incumbrances, the debts at first contracted remain still undischarged; and though some, whose success has been great, have erected good buildings, the generality of their descendants remain in cotts, requiring no more than room and shelter from the weather.

The Mountain River, so called from its spring rising in the mountains, receiving several rivulets in its course, is considerable near the church, with large farms on both sides, about half an hour's distance from each other. This fertile part, producing every growth of the Cape,

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is mountainous and ſtoney, and the mountains, like all about the Cape, in the depth of winter, are covered with ſnow.

Turn-again-Mountain. From Turn-again Mountain to the church is a road on the left, leading to Stellenboſh, truly named by the inhabitants Bange Hunk, or *fearful*, being narrow, ſtoney and ſteep, leading on edges of precipices, and pits of water, and infeſted with lions, tygers, and other wild animals. Many have periſhed by their horſes ſtarting into theſe precipices and pits upon the approach of theſe animals; yet the moſt elegant ſeats of the Landroft of Stellenboſh and Drakenſtein colonies, and ſeveral others of note, are ſituated in this dangerous road.

Simon's Valley. Simon's Valley, ſo named in honour of Simon Vander Stel, who granted it to Bleſius, the Cape fiſcal independent, is laid out in corn-fields, vineyards, and gardens. Upon an ordonnance publiſhed in 1707, that burghers only ſhould trade in corn, wine, and cattle, Bleſius ſold this eſtate to a favourite ſervant for twenty-four thouſand florins, to be paid by yearly payments of two thouſand florins. Near Simon's Valley is a high mountain, named the Babylonian Tower, extremely plentiful in corn and wine.

The market. A market is held near the church, for the ſale of grocery and other ſmall wares neceſſary for domeſtic uſe, bought at the Cape, and ſold here at an advanced price. On both ſides of the church, and road to Mountain River, lie ſeveral well cultivated and improved eſtates; and from thence to Waggon-makers Valley, and farther on to Pearl Mountain, ſo called from a large ſtone on the top, imagined by the common people to reſemble a pearl. This mountain is rocky; the ſtone is proper for mill-ſtones; and many were hewn out by order of Vander Stel, and uſed in the mills of the colonies. The Mountain River paſſes through Waggon-makers Valley, ſo called from an European waggon-maker, the firſt inhabitant, in a ſerpentine manner, and runs above an hundred German miles from its ſource, through ſeveral Hottentot countries, into St. Hellen's Bay. This river, formidable in ſummer, when ſwelled by winter torrents running down the hills, overflows a conſiderable part of the adjacent country. Numbers of men and horſes have been loſt in attempting to croſs it; and ſcarce a winter paſſes without ſome terrible cataſtrophe. The inhabitants are deprived of church-ſervice, and the benefit of the mill at the foot of Pearl Mountain; yet the intelligent inhabitants, provided long ago with ſufficient caſh to be laid out for the

Pearl Mountain.

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public-good, have never thought of a bridge; the only thing wanting in the colony.

Numbers of Hottentots, who lately dwelt in this valley, abandoned their kraals, and retreated farther up the country, upon the appearance of European planters. The plantations and buildings of these new settlers were not brought to perfection in 1731.

Riebeck's Castle.

Riebeck's Castle, so named from Van Riebeck, first governor of the Cape, is an extreme high and steep mountain. The plantations on and near it would be greatly increased but for the scarcity of water; one well only being dug at the expence of Vander Bal, a planter, for the relief of the neighbourhood, who enjoyed in common this advantage, till a Tyger planter obtaining from the government the sole property, the inhabitants are obliged at present, as formerly, to make use of rain water.

In the beginning of the Cape settlement, barracks were erected here by the company for a hundred men, and as many horses; and a cannon was planted on an eminence near this post, to be fired on any hostile appearance from the Hottentots, as a signal to the next, and from thence continued to the Cape. The Hottentots afterwards desirous of friendship, and concluding a treaty of alliance with the Dutch, this guard was abolished, the cannon carried to the fortress, and the barracks and stabling went to decay.

Twenty-four Rivers.

The Twenty-four Rivers, about a day's journey north of Riebeck's Castle, and thus called from the many streams with which it is watered, belongs to Drakenstein colony. The soil is extremely fertile, producing corn from twenty-five to more than thirty fold, with great plenty of grass and water throughout. No lands are granted here in property; on which account huts only, and not houses of expence, are erected in this part.

Honey Mountains.

To this colony appertain the Honey Mountains, so called from the great quantity of honey made by the bees in the cliffs. The Hottentots climb extremely high, in great danger, in quest of honey and wax, which they afterwards barter with Europeans, for tobacco, brandy, and glass or brass trinkets.

The European inhabitants of these mountains, who are but few, and tenders of cattle only, like those of the Twenty-four Rivers, are settlers by licence; who, restrained from tilling more ground than what is thought necessary to yield sufficient corn for their support, make no use of that liberty; but, living without bread, eat meat with

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with meat, as beef or mutton with ſmoaked or dried veniſon; are extremely healthful, and ſtrangers almoſt to diſorders: their drink is water, milk, and honey beer.

About a day's journey from the Honey lie the Picquet Mountains, ſo called from the game of picquet at which the whole day was conſumed by the Europeans who firſt inſpected this ſettlement: the inhabitants are feeders of cattle, who, with the people of Honey Mountain, drive their cattle to the Cape market.

Van Waveren colony. Van Waveren colony, ſo called by governor Vander Stel, in compliment to the Van Waveren family of Amſterdam, to which he was related, was begun in 1701, is the youngeſt and moſt eaſtern ſettlement, about twenty-five or thirty German miles diſtant from the Cape, and ſeparated from Drakenſtein by Red Sand Mountain; the boundaries are hitherto unſettled.

Red Sand Mountain. The Red Sand Mountain is extremely difficult to paſs, being high and ſteep, and the road acroſs narrow and ſtony, with thick woods in many places on both ſides. Waggons are generally unloaded and taken to pieces, and, together with the goods, carried over in ſmall parcels by the cattle and waggoners. The Black Land near this mountain is included in this colony: the ſoil is extremely fertile, yielding a vaſt increaſe of all ſorts of grain that hath been hitherto ſown, and promiſes equal fertility with the beſt lands about the Cape. No lands are granted in property, but are held by licence from the government from ſix months to ſix months: on this account the lands are hitherto made uſe of as paſturage; nor are there any buildings ſuperior to ſhepherds huts. There are no places for public worſhip; the inhabitants frequent Drakenſtein, and ſometimes the Cape churches, to which they are obliged to repair for marriages and chriſtenings, being under the Cape juriſdiction. All civil and criminal cauſes are determined by the magiſtrates of Stellenboſh. The country is well-watered, and provided with two hot baths: the hot water of one becomes in two hours proper for bathing; yet the healing virtues of theſe waters are quite neglected for another bath at a ſmall diſtance. The hot bath behind the Hottentot Holland mountains is moſt frequented, and moſt juſtly recommended.

Animals. In ſpeaking of the living creatures of the Cape, we ſhall omit, as much as poſſible, deſcribing thoſe which are in common with other parts of Africa, and take notice only of ſuch as have ſomething remarkably particular.

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The Hottentot countries abound with the greateſt variety of the animal creation. The lion, the firſt in dignity, and the moſt noble beaſt, is extremely ſtrong; the fleſh has no ill taſte, and eats like veniſon. *The lion.*

The leopard, or panther, and the tyger, beaſts of a like nature, differing in nothing but the ſize and manner of the ſpots, are extremely fierce and ravenous; their fleſh, which is exceeding white and tender, ſurpaſſes in taſte the fineſt veal. *Leopard and tyger.*

The Cape elephants are the largeſt, and, in proportion, the ſtrongeſt in the world; their teeth weigh from ſixty to one hundred and twenty pounds; their fleſh is coarſe, and never eaten by Europeans but in great neceſſity; they make great expedition in travelling, and ſleep lying upon the ground. *Elephants.*

The ſkin of a Cape rhinoceros, whoſe ſenſe of ſmelling is remarkably wonderful, is almoſt impenetrable by the ſharpeſt knife: the horn in the ſnout, with which he rips up the belly of a ſurpriſed elephant, is known as an antidote to poiſon: the freſh blood is hung up in the guts by Europeans, to dry in the ſun, and taken afterwards in wine, coffee, or tea, to open obſtructions. Kolben ate the fleſh with great ſatisfaction. *Rhinoceros.*

Beſides the different kinds of European and Cape domeſtic dogs, there are wild ones, mortal enemies of every quadruped ſpecies, that range in bodies of thirty, forty, and upwards, encountering lions, &c. and always conquering by numbers, Both Europeans and Hottentots follow and rob theſe dogs of their prey after the chace, which the Europeans ſalt for their ſlaves, and the Hottentots eat what they get. *Wild dogs.*

There are the common European and tyger-wolves, of the ſize of an ordinary ſheep, with broad heads like bull-dogs; their jaws, noſe, and eyes, are large, the teeth ſharp, with frizzled hair, ſhort tails, and ſpotted like a tyger. The lion, tyger, and leopard, that know and purſue him by the howl, are great enemies to the tyger-wolf. *Tyger-Wolves.*

The Cape buffalos are larger than thoſe of Europe, and hard to be killed without fire-arms; their fleſh is neither tender nor fat, like that of an ox. *Buffalos.*

The Cape elks, about four hundred pounds weight, are much larger than European or American elks; their fleſh taſtes like good beef, either boiled or roaſted. *Elks.*

The wild aſs is ſpotted and ſtreaked in that beautiful manner as has been deſcribed in other places, with white, cheſnut, or brown, and ſurpaſſes a horſe in ſwiftneſs. *Wild aſſes.*

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Wild horses. There are wild horses in the Cape countries, but none in the European colonies; the settlement having been supplied, in the beginning, with horses from Persia.

Sea-horses. The sea-horse is here in great plenty and requeſt. The fleſh, boiled or roaſted, being eſteemed delicious food, and ſold at twelve and fifteen pence per pound; the fat, likewiſe bearing the ſame price, is uſed in moſt ſorts of victuals, and ſometimes ſpread upon bread like butter.

Different kinds of goats. There are tame blue and ſpotted goats; the blue goats are of the ſize of a hart; the fleſh, though ſeldom fat, is well taſted, and the ſkins equal in goodneſs thoſe of the deer. The fleſh of the ſpotted goats taſtes like veniſon; and that of another beautiful ſort of goats, without name, far ſurpaſſes the beſt: there are yet diving and rock goats, whoſe fleſh, though lean and tough, is eſteemed a dainty at the Cape.

Stinkbingſem and other wild animals. There are at the Cape, beſides the ſtinkbingſem, a ſtinking and offenſive animal, like a ferret in make, and of the ſize of a middling dog, baboons, mountain-cats, moles, Indian mice as large as cats, rattle-mice, that ſometimes make a rattling noiſe with their tails; ermins, whoſe fleſh is wholeſome, and agreeable to the palate; foxes, hares, harts, rabbits, cats, and European rats, carried thither by ſhipping.

Eagles. Four ſorts of eagles are ſeen in the Hottentot countries: the bird ſimply called eagle, of the ignoble kind, according to Geſner and Ludolphus, from their feeding upon fiſh and dead animals; the duck-eagle, or aquila anatoria, whoſe prey are ducks; the offifrage, or bone-breaking eagle, that carry up and let the land tortoiſes fall from a great height in the air, to break their ſhells; and the haliætus, ſo called by naturaliſts, or ſea-eagle.

Phœnicopterus, or flamingos. The phœnicopterus, ſo named by Mr. Ray, called by the Dutch flamingos, and by the French flammant, is the moſt beautiful bird at the Cape, larger, and the neck much longer than that of a ſwan. Both head and neck are white as ſnow; the bill extremely broad, the upper mandible crooked, and longer than the nether, which is thicker and hollow, and filled with a large and fat tongue, that eats like marrow; the bill of a dark blue, black at the point, and furniſhed with ſhort ſharp teeth; the lower parts of the wing-feathers are black, and the upper of a high flame colour, the feet like thoſe of a gooſe, and the legs half as long as the legs of a ſtork, of an orange colour: their fleſh is wholſome, and well taſted.

Beſides

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Beſides the tame, there are three ſorts of wild geeſe, the hill, or mountain, the crop, and the water-gooſe, which differ in ſize and colour. The hill or mountain-gooſe, whoſe feathers on the head and wings are of a bright ſhining green, are larger than the European; the crop gooſe is a large bird; and the water gooſe of the ſame ſize, is diſtinguiſhed from the European tame gooſe by a brown ſtreak, intermixed with green on the back: their fleſh is eſteemed extremely delicate. *Wild geeſe.*

The knorhan, upon diſcovering a man, gives warning to other birds, by making and continuing a loud noiſe, to the great diſappointment of ſportſmen: the fleſh has an agreeable taſte. *Knorhans.*

The fleſh of a ſea-crow is delicate food, much eſteemed at the Cape, where their feathers, which are exceeding ſoft, are uſed in bedding and cuſhions. *Sea crows.*

The ſpoon-bill, or pelican, and the malagos, are larger than geeſe: the ſea-gulls are numerous, and their eggs, as large as duck eggs, are moſt delicate food; the white of them never hardens by boiling, but remains like a jelly. The penguin, or pinguinan, of the ſize of a gooſe, is an extreme fat bird; the fleſh, being of a fiſhy taſte, is of no value; but their eggs are always eſteemed and looked upon as fine preſents. *Pelicans.*

One ſort of ravens is totally black, another wholly grey, and a third ſort has the belly feathers white, the feathers on the head black and white, and the reſt quite black. *Ravens.*

Oſtriches are numerous at the Cape; their eggs are reckoned good eating, and one is a tolerable meal for three or four perſons. Theſe large birds are equally careful in hatching, the male and female alternately ſitting on the eggs, and diligent in feeding their young as other birds. There are ſeveral ſorts of falcons; and the pheaſants are the ſame as thoſe of Europe: owls are of the ſame ſize, but of different colours; the feathers are red and black, intermixed with grey ſpots, which make a beautiful appearance. There are tame, and ſeveral ſorts of wild, ducks; the yellow-hammer, lark, the chloris, or greenfinch, of the ſize of a nightingale, with long and pleaſant notes; and a bird, called edolio by the Europeans, reſembling in ſize, make, and colour, the European cuckow; this bird, which keeps in thick buſhes, and on high trees, cries and repeats often, in fine weather, in a low and melancholy tone, edolio, edolio. *Oſtriches and other birds.*

There is a bird, whoſe fleſh is delicious food, deſcribed by Raphael Seuler, of the ſize of a ſtarling, with blue feathers; *Blue birds.*

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feathers; those on the neck and thighs of a sky blue, but somewhat darker than those of a king's fisher; the beak and wing-feathers of a dark blue, with a pointed bill about four inches long, and the nether mandible of a dark red. Several sorts of birds, though of different colours, having the same notes, are called by Europeans black-birds: the wagtails, finches, and bats, are the same as in Europe.

Black-birds.

A bird peculiar to the Cape.

Besides all kinds of European finches, there is a sort peculiar to the Cape, larger than a chaffinch, whose feathers are of an ash-colour in winter, to which succeed a new plumage in summer: the feathers on the head, belly, wings, and tail, are black, on the neck and back of a high scarlet, and the bill, which is short, strait, and pointed, is yellow. The nest of this bird is of peculiar contrivance, made impenetrable by any weather, of small twigs, interwoven with cotton, in the closest and tightest manner, with two apartments, and but one entrance; the upper is the apartment for the male, and the female lodges in the undermost.

Gnat-snappers.

There are gnat-snappers, and a bird called long-tongue, canary-birds, and the serinus, so called by Heuslines, extremely destructive to seed-plants; their flesh is greatly esteemed by the Cape Europeans, who relish it more than their notes.

Ægithus, and other birds.

The ægithus, hawfinches, or grosbeaks, the upupa, or hoopoc, the stone-pecker, and starling, are numerous about the Cape. There are tame and wild pigeons, called the hill, or mount, the bush, and sea pigeons; with three sorts of swallows, the prey, house, and sea-swallow, named apus by naturalists.

Different kinds of serpents.

The asp, of an ash-colour, and speckled with red and yellow, and several yards long, and many kinds of serpents are seen at the Cape: the eye serpent, called the dart-and-shoot serpent, from darting fiercely at, and shooting from, an enemy, with wonderful speed; the tree serpent, generally in and about the branches of trees; the blind slow-worm, with black scales, speckled with brown, white, and red; the dipsas, or thirst serpent, about three quarters of a yard long, with a broad neck and black beak, whose bite inflames the blood, and causes a painful thirst; the hair serpent, called by the Portuguese cobras do cabello, about a yard long, and three quarters of an inch thick, whose poison is the most malignant, causing, unless an antidote is instantly applied, immediate death. House serpents, about an ell long, and an inch and

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and half thick, whose bite has no ill consequence; the cerastes, or horned serpents, with many others.

Most Europeans have artificial serpent stones, made by Indian Brachmans, who alone possess, and remain inflexible in preserving the secret of the composition; these artificial stones, shaped like a bean, the matter in the middle being white, and the rest of a sky-blue colour, have admirable virtues, and are esteemed the most effectual remedy against poison. *The serpent stone.*

There are sea, river, and land insects; the sea-flea, of the size and shape of a young shrimp, is provided with a sting; the sea-louse is covered with a hard shell, having many legs, ending in hooks; they are great plagues in stinging and sucking of fish. In the sea, is a worm that might be properly called the sea-horse; the head, mouth, neck, and breast, are shaped exactly like those of a horse; the hind part runs to a point, about six inches long; the body is flat, and with ribs; the back is yellow, and the belly white. There are leaches, of a dark red, speckled with black; and water snakes, about six inches long, as thick as a swan's quill. *Sea, river, and land insects.*

The land insects are numerous in the Cape countries, where there are various sorts of ants, some like the European; the vallies are covered with their hills: others differ in size, being much larger, whose hills likewise are larger: there is a sort about half an inch long, whose heads are red, with brown backs, and ash-coloured belly and legs; and another with red wings, that frequently fly up the highest hills, extremely nimble and industrious. *Ants.*

Bees abound throughout these countries, and are the same, in every respect, with those of Europe: they lay their honey in hollow trees, in cliffs, and on the tops of high rocks; the rock honey has a finer flavour than that of the hive. Amongst the many kinds of flies is one that raises a blister like Spanish flies, which the Cape surgeons use for that purpose. *Bees.* *Flies.*

There are fleas, nits, earth-flies, beetles, lice, bugs and snails; and grashoppers of several sorts, that in great hosts damage gardens, orchards, and corn fields. There are as many sorts of butterflies as caterpillars, both with beautiful and lively colours. Scorpions are also numerous, between two and three inches long, of a dark green, speckled with black, resembling the small cray-fish in every part but the tail, which is longer and narrower; their sting is exceeding painful and dangerous. *Fleas, nits, &c.* *Scorpions.*

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Moths, wasps, &c. There are moths, wasps, rainworms, woodlice, weavels, toads, spiders, and millepedes: the spiders differ in size, shape, colour, and in their webs; some are poisonous; the Cape Europeans are extremely cautious in regard to the smallest sort, no bigger than a white pea; this little spider is black and active, the bite is poisonous, and causes death, unless antidotes are used immediately; a serpent-stone extracts the poison. The Cape millepedes are red and white, about a finger in length, downy like the caterpillar, with two moving horns on the head; but no eyes have been discovered in this insect, whose bite is as dangerous as that of the scorpion; the serpent stone is an effectual remedy, and roasted onions.

Bite of millepedes dangerous.

Blower. The sea and rivers abound with great plenty and variety of fish; the blower, so called from blowing itself up in a globular form, is smooth, without scales, with a dark yellow back, and white belly, a small mouth, with four broad teeth; is reckoned pernicious, and here avoided.

Bennet. The bennet, about the length and thickness of a man's arm, and from six to eight pounds weight, is dry, but an agreeable food, and easy of digestion.

Brown-fish. The brown-fish, a great devourer of the flying-fish, is fifteen or sixteen feet long; the body is as thick as an ox, and the back is somewhat raised.

Cabeliau. The flesh of the cabeliau, of which there are several sorts, is tender, delicate, and nourishing

Dolphins. There are several kinds of dolphins, whose flesh is good, and the tongues and livers are esteemed delicious eating at the Cape.

Elft. The spawn of the elft, a bony fish, and whose flesh is dry, is in high esteem.

Flying fish. The different kinds of flying-fish are of the size and shape of a herring, excepting the wings: some have two large wings only, others two large and two small wings, like those of a bat. These fish, whose flesh exceeds in taste the freshest herrings, are greatly pursued and harrassed by numbers of enemies: they are always in shoals, and fly extremely swift out of the water.

Gold fish. The Cape gold-fish, about a pound weight, are a foot and a half long; their meat is exceeding wholsome, of a delicate taste, counted a great cleanser of the blood.

Sharks. There are two sorts of sharks, from twelve to sixteen feet long; both sorts are extremely ravenous, and are said to hanker after human flesh more than any other food.

Pike The Cape pikes, boiled or broiled, are greatly esteemed, and found only in salt water.

Bras-

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Braſſems, called Hottentot-fiſh by Europeans, about a pound in weight, are reckoned wholeſome and well taſted. *Braſſems.*

The pilot-fiſh, ſo called from being the pilot or guide to the ſhark, of a dark brown colour, ſpotted with blue, and a black ſtreak along the ridge of the back, with ſeveral others running down to the belly, with gold colour about the eyes, and lower jaw like a ſaw, is extremely difficult to take. This fiſh is ſaid to maſter the ſhark, and to ſmell land, at ſcent of which, it turns about and makes off to ſea. *Pilot-fiſh.*

A ſea-lion was killed in Table-Bay in 1707: this animal was fifteen feet long, and the ſame in circumference; his head was like that of a lion, but without hair or ſcale upon any part; the tongue, of fifty pounds weight, was all fat, and the ſkin was of a yellowiſh colour. *Sea lions.*

There are porpoiſſes, or ſea-hogs, and whales; the leſſer, called grampus, is frequently ſeen in the Cape ſea. *Porpoiſſes and whales.*

The ſilver-fiſh, of the ſize, make, and taſte of a carp, about a pound in weight, keeps moſtly in the ſea, but ſometimes come in ſhoals into the rivers. *Silver-fiſh.*

The cramp-fiſh is a curioſity at the Cape, of the cartilaginous kind, about a quarter of a pound in weight, with little eyes; the mouth, though ſmall, is furniſhed with teeth, and is ſhaped like a half-moon; above the mouth are two little holes, or noſtrils; the back is orange colour, and the belly white; the tail like that of a turbot, and the ſkin is extremely ſmooth, without ſcales. *Cramp-fiſh.*

The Cape fiſhermen decline touching the cramp-fiſh; and moſt authors juſtly agree, that whoever touches this fiſh is affected with ſmart pains, cramped, and convulſed; but the duration is not laſting, the convulſion being at the height in a minute or two, when it gradually abates, and in half an hour goes quite off.

The barbels, carps, eels, gudgeons, lobſters, crabs, and oyſters, are in every reſpect the ſame as the ſame ſpecies in Europe; the rock-fiſh, taken in holes of ſea-rocks, about ſix inches in length, and two round, are of the moſt agreeable taſte, and much valued. *Barbels, carps, &c.*

There are two ſorts of water-ſnails, the porcupine and ſea-porcupine; the ſhells of both are variouſly and beautifully coloured, but loſe the colour when the ſnail dies. *Water-ſnails.*

There are kegel, or ninepin ſnails, klip, kouſen, or nabel ſnails, pearl ſnails, ſcrew ſnails, and ſhell-fiſh, called ſea-ſuns, and ſea-ſtars; their ſhells, which are extremely beautiful, are chiefly gathered for preſents to ſtrangers, and preſerved in many cabinets of curioſities.

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Sea spout. The sea-spout is a strange and surprising production of nature, resembling a spunge or lump of moss, sticking to sea-rocks, unmoved by winds or waves; of a greenish colour, with water or humour continually dropping from a fleshy substance within, not unlike a gizzard; there is no life perceivable in this creature, but, when touched, fine streams of water spout out from two or three small holes, which is repeated as often as touched, till the stock is exhausted.

Muscle-crabs. The muscle-crabs are like, but smaller than lobsters, and inhabit another besides the coat-shell, from which they go in and out with great ease.

Land, sea, and river tortoises. There are land, sea, and river, or fresh water, tortoises, whose bodies are guarded with the hardest and strongest shells. The sea and river tortoises, that lay and leave their eggs, of the size between the pigeon and hen egg, in the sand, to be hatched by the heat of the sun, are found at St. Jago and Mauritius; two hundred, and sometimes three hundred, eggs are laid in one nest, which, with the flesh, are agreeable to the palate. The land tortoises are plentiful at the Cape; their flesh is fine and white as snow, and their eggs are of an exquisite and delightful taste; the land tortoise feeds upon roots, herbs, and corn [a].

Vegetables of the natural growth. The vegetables of the natural growth of the Cape countries, whose virtues are topical, and many of no use in medicine, are too numerous to be inserted: in Kolben's account there are twenty-eight sort of aloes, many of them planted in the company's garden; their flowers, being of different colours, some white, others red, and many curiously speckled, are very delightful to the eye; five sorts of African alaternoides, and eight of African dog's-bane; ten of after Africanus, or African starwort; seven sorts of bell-flowers; twenty of African broom; and twenty-one of cranesbill: sixteen of ragwort; eleven of thymaloc Africana, or African spurge laurel; and six and thirty sorts of ficoides, or African fig marygolds: the argyrodendros Africana, or silver-tree, whose fruit is conical like the pine-apple, grows both in vallies and on hills: the spiræa Africana is called by the Hottentots buchu, who gather and dry the withered leaves in the sun, then beat them to powder for use: this powder is of a gold colour. There are trees of the size of an oak, called stink-wood by Europeans, from a filthy and nauseous scent which they emit while under the tool; but, the smell goes

[a] Id. ibid. p. 186.

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off in ſome time; and the wood, which is beautifully clouded, makes uſeful and ornamental pieces of furniture, and enters likewiſe into the Cape materia medica.

The exotics are alſo numerous: fir plants were carried from Europe in 1690, for ornament, and to ſupply the colonies with wood, and have thriven exceedingly. *Exotic vegetables.*

Garden ſorrel was planted chiefly for the advantage of mariners, as a remedy againſt the ſcurvy. There is abundance of garden garlic, common alder, and China roſe; the green leaves of the China roſe, whiſked in water, make a lather which the Cape Europeans prefer to ſoap for waſhing the face and hands.

There are large tracts of land planted with almond-trees, of which there are four ſorts, yielding a conſiderable profit.

The pine-trees, originally from America, were tranſplanted from the Eaſt-Indies; there are three ſorts, Jajama, Bonjama, and Jajagna: the Jajama apple is the largeſt and beſt, from ſix to eight inches long, and thick; the outſide colour is red and dark yellow, the inſide near a perfect yellow; the inſide colour of the Bonjama and Jajagna is white; that of Jajagna taſtes like rheniſh wine. *Pine-trees, &c.*

Garden parſley, aſparagus, red and white beetwort, were carried from Holland, and grow in great plenty. There are abundance of red and white cabbages, of forty pounds weight and upwards, and cauliflowers, of which great quantities are ſent to Ceylon and Batavia.

There are four ſorts of camphire-trees, one tranſplanted from Borneo iſland, the others from Sumatra, Sunda, China, and Japan.

Garden aſparagus, wild and garden hemp, and carduus benedictus, of great medicinal uſe, grow in the Cape countries.

The cinnamon-tree grows as high as a Spaniſh olive-tree. Clove-gilliflowers, horſe-cheſnuts, common onions, and garden chervil, and artichokes, were carried from Holland; white and grey peaſe from Germany and Holland; and the filberd-tree from Germany.

There are ſeveral ſorts of cherry-trees, the trumpet-flower, flower-fence, and common cucumbers in great plenty.

The American paſſion-flower bears a fruit like the golden ruſſetin, of an agreeable taſte.

Gourds were brought to the Cape from Europe and the Indies of ſeveral ſorts, and great numbers are diſpoſed among the ſhipping, they being extremely ſerviceable in long voyages.

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The male cyprus-trees were carried from Europe into India.

Corn-bottles were brought to the Cape with the firſt corn; they are of a white, blue, and carnatian colours; the flower of one ſort, in the company's gardens, is extremely fragrant and beautiful.

The Cape is ſupplied yearly with wild cytiſus from Holland; the crops at the Cape never holding the ſeed againſt the ſouth-eaſt winds.

Thorn-apple plants, brought from India, were rooted up and deſtroyed by the government; the reaſon is concealed, as the publication might be attended with bad conſequences.

There are European and Madagaſcar beans, the Indian fig-tree, torch-thiſtle, and common fennel, ſtrawberry-buſhes, and Indian wheat; Indian jeſſamin, and patſcher-tree, whoſe flowers are yellowiſh, and of an agreeable ſmell; the Indian pallet-ſettangan, with a white double flower, like the roſa Sinenſis, and jonquils, whoſe ſmell is ſo greatly eſteemed by the European ladies.

Sparry, gooſeberry-buſhes, white hyacinth, and the juniper-tree, were brought from Europe: there are the Indian white guava, and a ſhrub tranſplanted from Madagaſcar, called by the Cape Europeans kæzſchebyring, and kuthchines by the Japaneſe, who make a yellow colour of the ſeed for dying.

The Indian gold-tree, about ſix feet high, with yellow leaves ſpeckled with red, is extremely beautiful, and generally ranged in gardens amongſt other trees.

The Cape Europeans make pickles of the leaves of Indian bay-trees; there are cabbage-lettuces of every European ſort, common marjoram, ſtock-gilliflowers, and the white crown imperial, with great plenty of apples and quince trees. The Mæſtietz and Caſtietz of Batavia, and other Indian parts, make pomado for colouring and curling their hair, of the quince kernels.

The maſtick, pomegranate, citron, ſweet and ſour lemon, China and Indian orange trees are plentiful; theſe trees are extremely large, and called moſhan, or tyger-oranges, by the Eaſt-Indians, the firſt being ſpotted like the ſkin of that animal.

Roſemary, baſil, balm, garden mint, ſage, garden turnips, oak, plum and pear-trees, were brought from Europe; parſnips, medlars, common alder, and walnut-trees, were carried from Germany. There are black mulberry, myrtle, peach, pine, and date trees, garden-poppies, netted and muſk melons, white daffodils, ſavine, tulips, violets,

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violets, tamariſk-trees, and garden-tarragon, winter wheat and rye, with vines, carried from the Rhine, Perſia, and other places; and the garden-navew, by which the inhabitants make conſiderable profit.

Notwithſtanding the great plenty and variety of comforts and conveniences produced in this happy ſpot, the original proprietors have but a very ſmall ſhare of them. Thoſe Hottentots who live under the dominion of the Dutch company here, are the moſt wretched and miſerable not only of their whole nation, but, we may ſafely add, of all the Africans. They are, ſays a judicious author [p], reduced to ſuch an abject degree of ſervitude and indigence, as to be glad, for the ſake of a little tobacco, a piece of bread, or a glaſs of brandy, to ſubmit to the loweſt and baſeſt offices; and happy do they think themſelves, who live near their towns and ſettlements, as moſt at hand to be employed in that ſervile drudgery for ſo ſmall an encouragement; whilſt the reſt of their compatriots, who live more at large, and enjoy a greater ſhare of liberty, deteſt and abhor them for their baſe ſubjection and abject meanneſs.

Theſe poor creatures are truſty and faithful to the higheſt degree; inſomuch, that even the Dutch give them free admiſſion into their houſes and warehouſes, and truſt them with any buſineſs or important affair, without fear or danger of being wronged or defrauded. They are of an hoſpitable and beneficent temper, and ever ready to aſſiſt one another; and ſo generous in their low ſtate, that if any thing be given to any one of them, whether it be of eatables, apparel, tobacco, or brandy, which they are moſt fond of, they readily divide it amongſt their friends and companions, reſerving the leaſt ſhare to themſelves; and when obliged, they never ceaſe expreſſing, upon all occaſions, ſentiments of ſuitable gratitude, as long as they live. It muſt be owned, that this character is very different from that which the Dutch writers have given us of them, who have as generally as unjuſtly confounded them with the ſavage and inhuman nation of the Caffers lately deſcribed, and probably with no other view than to palliate their own inhumanity.

We ſhall now conclude this chapter with a ſhort eſtimate of the charges which the Dutch company is at for the maintenance of this important ſettlement, and of the revenues out of which they are raiſed.

[p] Dampier's Voyag. vol. ii. p. 212, & ſeq.

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Expence of the Cape settlement.

The revenues for defraying the vaſt expence of this ſettlement, the moſt flouriſhing in Africa, ariſe from the tenth of the produce of lands poſſeſſed by Europeans; from ground-rents; from duties on wines and beer, produced at the Cape, or imported; on tobacco and diſtilled liquors; on mum, of which there is great conſumption; and from the profits of trade.

The tenths of the produce of lands, and ground-rents, are computed at fourteen thouſand florins per annum. The duties are farmed at ſeventy thouſand florins per annum, and punctually paid by the farmers; and the neat produce of thirty-thouſand florins, laid out annually in merchandize for the Cape, at a profit of ſeventy-five per cent. is two hundred and twenty-five thouſand florins.

Though the revenue and profits are not hitherto brought to a par, the company is at preſent nearly reimburſed the expence; and has a proſpect of enjoying ſhortly an immenſe clear revenue from the ſettlement, the colonies improving and increaſing daily, by taking in new lands for culture and tillage.

A great number of fine Perſian horſes are kept in a range of ſtables, at Cape Town, capable of containing ſeveral hundreds, for the uſe of the company and parade of the governor; whoſe train is magnificent, he having a maſter and under maſter of horſe, a body and other coachmen, ſadler, &c. in his retinue.

Number of the company's ſervants.

The company's ſervants are about five hundred in number: all officers in the adminiſtration are called qualified, and the ſoldiers, artificers, and common ſervants, unqualified. Great part of theſe and the petty officers are lodged in the town in different buildings, belonging to the company; the governor and chief officers reſide in the caſtle, and the garriſon conſiſts of two hundred ſoldiers.



END OF THE TWELFTH VOLUME.

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